CONVERSION OR DESTRUCTION : LAMBERT'S PROFERRED CHOICE TO HIS BRETHREN IN THE 'LIBER FLORIDUS'

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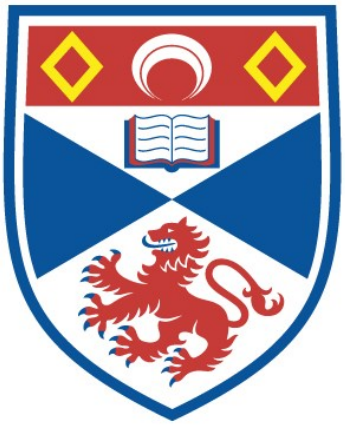

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Abstract

The making of a medieval encyclopedia is a much more complex and individual process than has hitherto been acknowledged by many researchers, concerned as they have been on revealing particular structures or intentions within the text compilation. However, even viewed objectively, much of the selection of texts for inclusion in the *Liber Floridus* may seem to reveal an overriding purpose concerned with the role of the Church in Salvation. This purpose, or indeed any other that gained Lambert's interest, should be visible from the selection and inflection of the images themselves. This is because Lambert showed himself as fully at home in giving shape to his ideas through figuration as he was in exploring and making sense of the accrued learning of the twelfth century, centring on the corpus of material which dealt with the role of the Church.

It is therefore to the images and their iconography that this thesis addresses itself. It attempts to clarify those choices which Lambert is intent on revealing to his readers through the laborious and uniquely personal task that was the creation of the *Liber Floridus*. This thesis also looks at why Lambert chooses to communicate his ideas and message in such a singular manner. In looking at the *Liber Floridus* it becomes apparent that Lambert was drawn by more than just antiquarian, or glossator's interests. By what he put together he may have intended quite literally a revelation to the reader of the importance of the role of the Church on earth and its crucial relation with the Church Universal of the coming eschaton.

This thesis attempts to set the *Liber Floridus* in its context of previous and contemporary works. It looks at the way in which Lambert's lifestyle and influences may have affected his conception of the *Liber Floridus* and his intentions towards his readership. This naturally concentrates on religion, for Lambert had devoted his life to the Church. Taking what are generally considered the principal illustrations in the *Liber Floridus*, this thesis looks at their connective themes and shared attitudes. It analyses the history of these images and looks at what the subjects of these illustrations might mean both to Lambert himself and to his contemporary readership. It explores how Lambert may have manipulated style and iconography, often along with texts and scriptural quotations, to give his images their particular meanings. It explores the bold comparison of Good and Evil provided by Lambert and looks at why and how this contrast is emphasized, particularly in the context of the Church. Lambert shows similarities between the good topics he covers and also shows parallels between their negative equivalents. He further provides direct and comparative contrasts between positive images and, where suitable, their evil counterparts. Through these bold oppositions, Lambert puts before his readers the inevitable consequences attendant on following one side or the other. This thesis demonstrates that Lambert's pictorial encouragement in assisting his readers to make the right choice is the pivotal purpose behind the visual strategies of the *Liber Floridus*.

(i) I, Kirsty Nicol hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 40,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is a record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date: 16/1/95 Signature of candidate

(ii) I was admitted as a candidate for the degree of M.Phil in January 1992. The study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between January 1992 and March 1994.

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(iii) I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulation appropriate for the degree M.Phil in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the University of St Andrews Repographics Department for their help with illustrations and to Bob Harris for assisting me with my Latin.

With special thanks to Rosemary Muir Wright and to Mark Nicol.

List of Plates

First hand observations of the principal images

A close scrutiny of the individual illustrations revealed a positive interaction between written text and formal designs in the pictorial field in a manner which suggested that Lambert of Saint-Omer added his inscriptions precisely in those areas which would expand the meaning of the figurative design in some way. There is no sense anywhere in the autograph that these inscriptions are merely infill. Often, for example, the contour-line of the script is made to follow the outline of the appropriate form.

There follows a short account of key points observed from a close study of the illustrations, discussion of which will be taken up in the main text. It should be noted that colour and '*tituli*' are used throughout as deliberate highlighters and that despite the fact that reproduction obscures the varying size of the illustrations, it also tends to enhance the inherent monumentality of these key images.

Plates 1 and 2 - *Christ between Church and Synagogue*

The risen Christ, identified by the cruciform halo and the banner of resurrection, stands triumphant on the green mound that is the Mount of Olives, clearly identified by the inscription "*Christus super montem Oliuarum* by his right leg. The accent on the right side is maintained by the chalice held by Ecclesia and the inscription running along Christ's right arm "*Ecclesia a dextris Dei*". This right angled focus is accentuated by the immense baptismal font, echoing the chalice

addorsed to the figure of Ecclesia. This font is not placed on the Mount of Olives in the foreground, but rests on a strange white surface, possibly clouds. This elevation is countered in the low level of the Jaws of Hell.

This font, almost as tall as Ecclesia herself is in direct contrast to the smaller jaws of hell. These jaws are reminiscent of those of Sheol from Jewish rabbinical lore, thus linking them to the image of Synagoga, who stands nearby. The figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga are differentiated by Christ's treatment of them. He crowns Ecclesia with his hand firmly upon her head whilst pushing away or unveiling Synagoga with a strange ambivalent gesture. Her crown hovers by Christ's shoulder.

Plates 4 and 5 - *Saint-Omer; the author at work*

This illustration provides one of the best opportunities for learning about the personality of the artist/scribe.

In his depiction of himself, Lambert abandons much of the iconographic tradition originating in Evangelist portraits. he sits facing to the left and in front of city walls identified as the home of his own religious foundation.

Close scrutiny of this charming image reveals a cross upon the tallest tower of the city, which becomes a standard image within Lambert's work to show a place or thing under God's protection. Lambert is shown at an ornate desk and chair and with the implements of his trade, inkhorn, quill and knife. These latter two appear to be used as points within the text

written upon the open page. This writing is turned away from Lambert and aligned for the reader to view it, although the fragmentation of the words and the poor Latin script make it difficult to decipher. It states that the relics of Archbishop Wido were shown to the people of Saint-Omer in 1052 (*Anno MLII ostendit archiepiscopus Wido sanctum Audomarum populo*"), and Lambert's use of this text within an image symbolic of his work, suggests that he felt the *Liber Floridus* served a related purpose.

Plate 6 - *The Minotaur in the Labyrinth*

Lambert's labyrinth is a flat and geometric schema. Standing within it is a crudely drawn monster with four legs and a tail, horse-like, but with the upper torso of a human. The face is flat and mask-like. The figure holds a sword in its right hand and is making a pointing or blessing gesture with its left. Despite the many extant versions (such as those in the *De Universo* of Rabanus Maurus, discussed below) which could have been available to Lambert, the echoes of the vision of the New Jerusalem (see Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. N.a.l. 1132) and the infilled letters of the rubric are reminiscent of Spanish manuscripts, one example of which was almost certainly available.

Plate 7 - *Paradise*

Lambert's portrayal of Paradise is pictorial rather than diagrammatic. He shows a walled city with varied and symmetrical towers which push confidently outside the bounds of

the pictorial space. This image is reminiscent of the Revelations description of Paradise as well as continuing a theme of city illustrations throughout the *Liber Floridus*.

Within the circle of the crenellated wall grows a broad trunked tree with eight shallow, umbrella-like branched growths. This is taken to signify the Apocalyptic tree of life.

Lambert places two blank doorways in the wall (elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus* he draws doors well, so it may be that he wished to show here gateways that were somehow different from their earthly equivalents). In front of the walls rise a curious coloured mass, which might be water, rocks or even clouds.

Plates 11 and 12 - *Antichrist riding Leviathan*

This is surely one of the most arresting images in the text, reminiscent of Romanesque Bible initials. Antichrist is shown seated on the curved and knotted tail of a four-legged Leviathan. The monster sports wings, horns and huge tusks and stands in water breathing fire. This fire is highlighted in the same red that Lambert uses to infill the capital L of Leviathan's name. This colouration must be part of the design, for Lambert curls in the water into ending waves in a precise line that follows this infill.

The colour is picked up again in the red stockings of Antichrist himself, suggesting that he is the progeny of Leviathan. Even the shape of his curved shoes reflect Leviathan's tail, and within the shape of this detail are written details from the prophecy of Antichrist's life.

Antichrist holds a sceptre and blesses with his left hand. He is further connected to the devil by the tiny horns that sprout from his crown.

Plates 19, 20 and 21 - *The Tree of Virtues and Vices*

The trees of virtues and vices are an organic rather than a schematic set of illustrations. Rather than growing vertically and side by side, they spread horizontally from roots at the centre of the page.

The tree of virtues is shown as a living, varied and colourful object. The thirteen medallions on it are filled with personifications of the virtues. Each 'tree' shape is filled with a different pattern.

In contrast, the tree of vices is dull and dead. Images are replaced by text and each tree contains the same monotonous pattern.

Preface

The *Liber Floridus* (Ghent, University Library Ms. 92) is an illustrated encyclopedia created between the years of 1112 and 1121 by Lambert, a secular canon at the church of Notre Dame in Saint-Omer, Flanders.[1] Lambert had access to the library of his own house and may also have been able to use that of the larger and more prestigious neighbouring house of Saint-Bertin.[2] There may also have been links with affiliated houses such as Canterbury.

The *Liber Floridus* was made for Lambert's fellow canons, and therefore assumes a basic understanding of theology, symbols and images. Because Lambert's work was mostly a personal project, we can learn more from its uninhibited spontaneity, its subject and style, than can often be gleaned from more formal and stylized works.

Most of Lambert's autograph manuscript is still extant, and is available to the scholar in a facsimile edition which combines a transcription of the text along with reproductions of the illustrations and diagrams at the original folio size.[3] These folios are large indeed, measuring 370 by 204 millimetres. The manuscript contains 190 chapters numbering 311 folios (622 pages).

The quality of manuscript produced by Lambert is not represented by the quantity. Most of this huge work has been created using poor inks and with tattered and mis-shapen parchment. Much of the parchment is palimpsest, and Lambert has often had to sew pieces of it together in an effort to keep to the same folio size. The technical nature of the work created

with this equipment is also open to criticism. Lambert shows little ability at being able to judge the amount of text that will fit upon a page and often has to change the size of his writing, or even sew on an additional piece of parchment, in order to cope with this.[4] Although Lambert's work shows little evidence of training and does not fit into a typical picture of scriptorium output, it cannot be dismissed as a poor quality, disorganised curiosity. The *Liber Floridus* was viewed as more than just a curiosity, for although it was probably never copied in Lambert's lifetime, a number of copies were made in the next four hundred years. Lambert of Saint-Omer illustrated the *Liber Floridus* as well as writing the text.[5] The number of illustrations is in proportion to the size of manuscript. Originally there were eighty-four full-page miniatures, with sixty still surviving.[6] Of these, approximately half (thirty) are figural illustrations, with the remaining thirty being made up of diagrams such as the orbits of the planets, the six ages of the world and a table of consanguinity.[7]

The poor quality of inks available to Lambert means that although most of his illustrations are in colour, the choice of colours available to him at any time was often restricted. Few illustrations (such as *Paradise* (fol. 52r, plate 7)) show a balanced spectrum of colours. Instead most illustrations use a restricted palette of a couple of colours - see for instance, the *Palm-tree* (fol. 76v, plate 14).

Both Lambert's text and illustrations are made up of an amalgam of works, styles and ideas from other sources. The content of the *Liber Floridus* then is principally a compilation, although, as discussed below, Lambert often

manipulates his sources to suggest different meanings attached to familiar texts. With illustrative material, Lambert copies not only the subject of other images but often the style as well.[8] This adds to the eclectic feeling of the manuscript.

The illustrations are spread throughout the manuscript, sometimes coming in blocks, but often with seemingly little connection with the text surrounding them. However, if the manuscript is taken as a whole, recurrent themes can be found, both between the text and images and also inter-linking the images themselves. Lambert was both writer and designer, scribe and artist, and any attempt to divorce the text from the images in the *Liber Floridus* would thus be ill-founded. Nonetheless, image and text have very different effects on the viewer and reader.[9] Text may be able to put across a more complex and coherent message. Illustrations are always open to individual interpretation. The recovery of meaning (or more accurately, layers of meaning) from images is an altogether more complex task. There are instances in which an image may be said to render intelligible ideas not susceptible to verbal translation, for instance the image of the Trinity. Images rely on the imagination of the observer in a way in which words do not. But by this very strategy, images attract into their orbit other images which help to qualify and extend the original imagery. While illustrations may sometimes lack the precision of words, they operate on the memory on different levels and as such may have been the driving factor in creating meaning in a period when actual literacy in the form of silent continuous reading was unknown.

In the *Liber Floridus* the written entries are

repetitive and follow no pattern that aids the comprehension of the reader.[9] The pictorial content, as well as being considerably smaller, forms a more coherent basis for interpretation. While some of the written sections are difficult to fit into any organised schema, the illustrations tend to fall into a few, clearly defined groups.[10] This forms an immediate basis for comparison, and this sense of instant comparison and contrast of visual images is utilised by Lambert.

The *Liber Floridus* is too large to have been organised much before its creation.[11] However, Lambert's overriding themes gave it some organisational unity. Topics of specific interest to Lambert include those of a botanical basis, in particular covering images of fantastically decorative trees, images of fantastical creatures, an exploration of the past (usually European history rather than biblical), a sense of the present centring on Lambert's home of Saint-Omer in Flanders, and of its place in the First Crusade, and an eschatological anticipation of the future. Looking at the purely illustrative material, links can be found within the iconographical structure. Four contain images that are labelled 'ecclesia', and two contain objects titled 'sinagoga'.[12] This most clearly delineated connection between images has formed the basis of my study, and has been investigated to form a network of images connected by word or symbolism throughout the *Liber Floridus*.

This thesis is based upon a selection of the principal illustrations in the *Liber Floridus*. The selection is primarily made up of those images which do <u>not</u> fit into more obvious groupings, which do not have a traditional place or message

within a manuscript such as the *Liber Floridus*. They are miniatures which do not form a part of the Revelations cycle, the traditional bestiary illustrations, the diagrammatic illustrations and the majority of the seated portraits. In exploring the reasons for Lambert's inclusion of these images, and of the topics and attitudes revealed within them, I will show my interpretation that these images are linked firstly in the subjects and message contained in each one and ultimately in the direct contrasts and comparisons between them. I believe that these comparisons give the *Liber Floridus* an internal unity and contain Lambert's final, true purpose for the manuscript by providing the reader with a visual choice between salvation and damnation as a result of recognising and accepting Christ, or denying Him.

I propose that there is a concentration of themes around the image of *Christ between the Church and Synagogue* which can be extrapolated outwards through the manuscript. The themes of baptism and the triumph of the Church lead to images of Paradise and Jerusalem. The presence of Synagoga is linked to Antichrist, and then onwards to the Minotaur. Ecclesia, both as an ideal and a personification pervades many ecclesiological images, including many that are symbolically botanical. Throughout the *Liber Floridus*, Lambert reveals a conscious, coherent message expressed through his images and ideas and contained within his enthusiasm for his work.

In chapters 1 and 2, I will examine the formative influences in the creation of Lambert's work, drawing attention to the fact that the making of a medieval encyclopedia is a much more complex and individual process that has hitherto been

handling from that of his contemporaries and to suggest that these distinctions stemmed from Lambert's particular purpose in punctuating his text with carefully documented illustrations.

Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate how this overriding purpose was revealed through the selection and inflection of the images, in connection with both the supportive extracts and the inscriptions within the painted field itself. Like many twelfth-century artists, Lambert showed himself as fully at home in Giving shape to his ideas through figuration as he was in handling texts - in particular that corpus of material which dealt with the role of the Church. he is urgently aware of the forces which threaten her, a factor which may be related to the heightened sense of expectancy following the success of the First Crusade and the re-capture of Jerusalem in 1099. It is clear that Lambert was touched to a certain degree by the eschatological ideas of this period, which may have encouraged him to present his illustrations in such a way as to lay a visual choice before his readers. This confrontation is dealt with in chapter 5, where the means of grace and the route to salvation are laid out as a choice between opposites.

[1] This is the most specific dating of the *Liber Floridus*, and is given by A. Derolez (*Lambertus qui Librum Fecit*: een codicologische studie van der *Liber Floridus*-autograaf: (Gent Universteitsbibliotheek, handschrift 92) (Brussels, Palais der Academiën, 1978), p.471). This most recent research is a detailed codicological study and has established the structure of the manuscript quire by quire including additional folios and lost sections. Some of the most important sections are in the second chapter (pp.14-21) where he outlines the object, method and plan of his investigation. This plan allowed him to sketch the genesis of Lambert's work from a similar standing point to my own, namely that the *Liber Floridus* originally had a logical structure. The central part of Derolez' study (pp.361-379) is devoted to the actual genesis of the manuscript which he describes in terms of strata. He admits himself that his final scheme remains hypothetic in several points, but as a working model he offers a succession of thirteen phases of production datable to 1112-1121. In seeking to support his theory regarding the structure of the codex, Derolez attempts to identify the source manuscripts, discovering in the remains of the chapter library of Saint-Omer a few manuscripts containing texts annotated in Lambert's hand. He notes (p.390-1) "that some of Lambert's principal sources are found united in a small number of compilations." Derolez' Flemish text discusses the ways by which Lambert became acquainted with these manuscripts, but this is not developed in the English summary. Derolez' then goes on to give a phase by phase account of the contents of the work which I have taken up in my analysis of the illustrations and their interaction with the texts.

[2] A. Derolez, (*Lambertus qui Librum Fecit*, p.471) examines the *Liber Floridus* in a codicological manner believes that Lambert did not have access to the library at Saint-Bertin. J.N. Hillgarth ('Julian of Toledo in the *Liber Floridus*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 26 (1963), p.193), who is also examining the text of the *Liber Floridus* believes that he almost certainly did. H. Swarzenski ('Comments on the Figural Illustrations' in A. Derolez (ed.), *Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers read at the International Meeting held in the University Library, Ghent, on 3-5 September 1967*, (Ghent, E. Story-Scientia 1973), p.24) points to stylistic similarities between Lambert's work and that of the scriptoria of Saint-Omer and Saint-Bertin which was established by Abbot Odbert (986-1007) and was still influential by Lambert's time. This implies that a dialogue between the two houses almost certainly existed. It may be that, as Derolez suggests, the library at Saint-Omer proved adequate for most of Lambert's textual needs, but the broader range of illustrative material may prove his access to Saint-Bertin's bookstock.

[3] Lamberti S. Audomari canonici, *Liber Floridus, codex autographus bibliothecae Universitatis Gandavensis, auspiciis eiusdem Universitatis in commemorationem diei natalis*, (Ghent, E. Story-Scientia 1968) (henceforth *Liber Floridus.*)

[4] As I have not had the opportunity to examine the original manuscript of the *Liber Floridus*, this information relies upon A. Derolez and E. I. Strubbe's detailed examination of state and style of the manuscript in the introduction to the facsimile (*Liber Floridus*, pp.VII-XVII).

[5] A. Derolez, *Liber Floridus*, p.XII.
[6] All of the missing illustrations occur in one or more of the copies of the *Liber Floridus*. Of these, the earliest and best still extant is Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library Ms. 1 (see plates 28 and 29) dating from the last quarter of the twelfth century. This, however, is also not complete, and for some images the closest surviving version is in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8865 (see plate 27), from the middle of the thirteenth century. While these copies give an idea of the basic shape and content of the missing illustrations, they cannot be necessarily relied upon to reproduce precise details or style.
[7] For a full list of the illustrations, see A. Derolez, *Liber Floridus*, p.XVI-XVII.
[8] Discussed in chapter 2 below.
[9] The problem of the dichotomy between two dimensional text and the attempted three-dimensionality of image , and how the reader relates the two, is addressed by J.J.G. Alexander, 'Facsimiles, copies and variations: the relationship to the model in medieval and renaissance European illuminated manuscripts', in K. Preciado (ed.), *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies and Reproductions*, Studies in the History of Art 20 (1990), p.63.
[10] Many have commented on the seeming disorganisation of the *Liber Floridus*, starting with L. Delisle, 'Notices sur les manuscrits du '*Liber Floridus*' compose en 1120 par Lambert, chanoine de Saint-Omer', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 38:2, 1906, p.579. Although Virginia Tuttle (*An Analysis of the Structure of the "Liber Floridus"*, PhD. Thesis, Ohio State University 1979) argues competantly for a broad, twelve-part division of the *Liber Floridus*, there is no suggestion that this makes the *Liber Floridus* any easier for the reader to comprehend.
[11] H. Swarzenski, (*Comments on the Figural Illustrations*, pp.21-30) notes three broad categories of illustrations in the *Liber Floridus*: the static figures and city scenes reminiscent of the existing scriptoria at Saint-Omer and Saint-Bertin, the array of animal and plant illustrations, and the now missing Apocalypse cycle. These categories could obviously be expanded.
[12] A. Derolez makes a codicological analysis of the *Liber Floridus* and hypothesises that the manuscript started as a more modest, structured work covering mainly historical and nomenclative works and was expanded in thirteen stages by new material being inserted into or between quires. Although Lambert has often attempted to place this new material in a suitable position, this has added to the disorganisation of the manuscript. For instance, the illustrations of *The Devil riding Behemoth* (fol. 62r) and *Antichrist riding Leviathan* (fol. 62v) split a section on marine animals (fols. 61v - 63v). See A. Derolez, *Lambertus qui Librum fecit*, p.474.
[13] The 'ecclesia' illustrations are in the *Palm-tree* (fol. 76v, plate 14), the *Beatitude Trees* (fols. 139v-140r, plates 15 and 16), the *Tree of virtues* (fol. 231v, plate 19) and *Christ between Church and Synagogue* (fol. 253r, plate 1). The 'sinagoga' illustrations occur in the *Tree of vices* (fol. 232r, plate 20) and again in *Christ between Church and Synagogue*.

Lambert, Canon of Saint-Omer

Lambert and his World

Little is definitely known about Lambert of Saint-Omer. In the Prologue (fol. 3v.) he gives his name as "*Lambertus filius Onulfi, canonicus Sancti Audomari*". Later, in the annals he mentions the death of his father, Onulfus, and states that he also was a canon at Saint-Omer. Lambert records the year of his father's death as 1077, and from this we can speculate on Lambert's age. He must have been born by 1077, and therefore was at least 43 when he finished compiling the *Liber Floridus*, most of which work was probably carried out between the years 1112 and 1121.[1] However, it is probable that he was older when his father died, and that Lambert did not live long after the completion of the *Liber Floridus* as we know it. This is because of the fact that even though some of the *Liber Floridus* (the annals, (fols. 36v - 44r)) was brought up to date on a number of occasions, nothing after 1120-21 is in Lambert's hand.

It is unlikely that Lambert was one of those canons whose personal wealth made his religious order just a pleasant place for him to retire from the world. Nothing is known of Lambert's father other than that he too was a secular canon. Although his creation of the *Liber Floridus* implies that Lambert was truly concerned with religious matters, he may well have gained his place at Saint-Omer because his father had been a canon before him. If Lambert received his position at Saint-Omer from his father it was nepotism, still a common

abuse in the eleventh century.[2] Lambert's mother was a distant relation of the local *vicecomes*,[3] but if there had been any more wealth or prestige from either his father's or his mother's side of the family, then Lambert would have been able to afford far better materials for the creation of the *Liber Floridus* than he actually used. From the fact that Lambert's father was a canon before him we can see that Lambert not only lived as an adult but also spent his upbringing at Saint-Omer. Thus he probably spent all his life within the influence of religious order, and this helps explain his fierce loyalty to Saint-Omer and how he seems completely given over to the religious life.[4] In his *self-portrait* (fol. 13r, plate 4) Lambert shows himself sitting at Saint-Omer, surrounded by details of the history of the abbey. The sense of belonging shown here has no comparison in other manuscripts.[5] Lambert may well have been brought up in Saint-Omer as well as living there as a canon. This implies that Lambert had spent his life in the town of Saint-Omer and had little experience of other places.

The Chapter of Our Lady at Saint-Omer was situated in the Flemish town of Saint-Omer along with the larger and more prestigious neighbouring abbey of Saint-Bertin. It is possible that Lambert had access to its library and to those of nearby allied houses.[6] Although Flemish art would gain great acclaim in following centuries, at this time Flanders was not known for its artistic individuality.[7] Saint-Omer was in the extreme south of Flanders, close to the French border, and so the culture and ideas that Lambert would have encountered there would certainly have been influenced by the French. Saint-Omer

had long had links with England,[8] and so it is not surprising that after the Norman conquest Saint-Omer's trade was directed mainly towards England. Its favourable position as a contact point between Arras and Calais enhanced its situation as the major trade link between Flanders and the English and its favourable role continued even beyond Lambert's time and on towards the end of the twelfth century when, in about 1160-70, the waters receded and the town was land-locked.[9]

Saint-Omer's importance is further shown in that it held one of the two major mints in Flanders and was the first Flemish trade town (that is, without a castle) to have a guarding wall built, in around 1000[10]. Because Saint-Omer was surrounded by marshes on three sides, it was unusual in that the town was only really fortified on one side. It is noticeable that in Lambert's many drawings of cities, such as *Paradise*, *Jerusalem* and *Rome* (plates 7, 13 and 17), each is shown with an encircling wall. In his illustration of himself at Saint-Omer, however, Lambert uses the formula of showing just one wall, straight across the page, with the towers of the town rising behind it.

Although (as discussed above) Lambert may have had little opportunity to travel, the international atmosphere of Lambert's town cannot but have given him a wider view of the world. A cosmopolitan town like Saint-Omer would have seemed particularly exciting and Lambert may well have gained his life-long taste for bold tales of foreign lands from this time.[11] The mercantile links which brought so many people of different crafts and nationalities to his town may also well

have provided both him and his house with many sources for art. Lambert was a canon, rather than a monk in a strictly enclosed order. He was also a canon in a country where secular and ecclesiastical powers were still inter-linked, for instance, from the ninth century onwards, there was a tradition of Flemish counts becoming lay abbots at Saint-Bertin.[12] This implies that Lambert grew up without any sensation of a divide between the religious world and the secular. All was united to him as part of the grand design. Indeed, throughout the *Liber Floridus* Lambert places holy and profane topics side by side,[13] for he sees all as pointing towards the same ultimate message of the importance of the Church on earth.

Lambert as a Canon

A canon was a clerk living according to a rule and renouncing private property. It was only in the eleventh century that the idea that clergy should live a life in common gained precedence and by the first half of the twelfth century reform movements meant that most churches were establishing formal chapters of canons.[14] These based their life upon a formal list of rules, from which they gained the name 'canons regular'.[15] The canons looked for an authority for their life and the Rule of St Augustine was thought to provide the definitive basis for the running of a chapter of regular canons. Augustine was one of the earliest literary supporters of the active, apostolic life and so the Rule of St Augustine gave a weight of authority and a historical respectability to the canonical way of life.[16]

The Order was established by councils in 1059 and 1063,[17] and spread rapidly. Augustinianism had appeared in Lambert's locale of North East France and Flanders before the pontificate of Gregory VII ended in 1085. Gregory's disciple Urban II (1088-99), although himself a Benedictine, did much to promote the adoption of the Rule of St Augustine by regular canons.[18] During this time, so many orders of canons adopted the Rule of St Augustine that the name 'canons regular' was adopted for use almost exclusively for Austin canons.[19] The Rule had had such a great influence on canons around Lambert's time that by 1139 it was enforced on all canons regular.[20] Thus it is difficult to imagine that any house in this corner of Europe, including Saint-Omer, was not at least influenced by Augustinian ideals.

The Rule of St Augustine provided the perfect example for an Order who did not wish to follow the *vita angelica* - the enclosed, passive, contemplative life of traditional monasteries. The more introverted that monastic orders became, the more the canons were seen to fulfil the duties of teachers.[21] Indeed, it seems that all canons saw themselves more as clergy than as monks, serving God not with direct devotion, but indirectly, with their individual work through the Church, whatever that may happen to be:

"The Austin Canons had a religious life within the context of the sinful world, seeking to restore the original Christian values and to amend the abuses which threatened the integrity of the Church."[22]

Augustinianism had a special attraction for learned men. Because the canonical life was more flexible than that of the monks, canons were able to give their lives to God in a way that made use of their individual gifts. Canons were encouraged to work, to study, to create. As a scholar, however amateur, Lambert could be seen as showing himself as one of the most religiously committed of his fellows because academic study (such as Lambert's work towards the *Liber Floridus*) was encouraged because it inspired the canons to active contemplation of God:

"When we pray we speak with the Lord, but when we read the Lord speaks with us."[23]

If reading gave a canon the opportunity to 'hear' God and learn from him, in creating the *Liber Floridus* Lambert was creating a method of communication between his readers and the Lord and was thus enabling them to be closer to God. However, personal projects such as Lambert's would probably not have been allowed to encroach into the common canonical duties:

"We must indeed beware of believing that the learned who joined the regular canonical order did so in order to practice their craft. As with all true religious, their primary motive was to seek spiritual salvation through the more abundant life which the communal life of monasticism affords. Probably to take the habit almost invariably meant severely restricted opportunities for intellectual pursuits."[24]

This was the practical stance of an order still somewhat in touch with the world. It was perfect for a man such as Lambert, whose work looks at the secular world almost as

much as religious matters. Lambert then could have seen the creation of *Liber Floridus* in harmony as one part a canonical life aimed ultimately at salvation of man.[25] This has within it a suggestion of the apostolic inspiration that characterised the canons regular:

"What is new and distinctive about the canons as a group is not their actions or the rights they claimed. It is simply the quality of their awareness, their sense of responsibility for the edification of their fellow man."[26]

The canons were accepted as being concerned with pastoral work. In 1116 Pope Paschal II summed up the principal duties of the canons:

"The dispensation of the Word of God, the offices of preaching, baptising, and reconciling penitents have always been a function of your [the canonical] order."[27]

Included in this list are a number of duties, specifically the dispensation of the Word of God, baptism and the reconciliation of penitents, which appear to have been particularly important to Lambert. They are given special emphasis in the *Liber Floridus*, particularly in the image of *Christ between the Church and Synagogue*. Here a font is placed to the right of Christ and the inscription states that it is available for the washing away of all sins - providing, one assumes, that the catechumen is penitent. Here, then, Lambert is concerned for the souls of others as well as his own. In Lambert's own introduction to the *Liber Floridus* (fol. 3v) he tells of how he wishes to make his readers recognise and worship God ("Burn the more fervently with the love of the

Creator").[28] This shows how he is concerned for the spiritual well-being of others, while his description of his readers as "faithful bees", searching for "heavenly potion" from the flowers of literature seems particularly suited to those in canonical orders.[29] Lambert's canonical beliefs affected his conception of the *Liber Floridus* and his intentions towards its readership.

The *Liber Floridus* was a contribution to the bookstock of his order which was valuable as a copiable compendium, regardless of the physical quality of the work itself. It was also an indulgence of Lambert's personal interests - his favourite authors and the diagrammatic illustrations he so obviously loved. Most importantly however, it provided Lambert with the vehicle he required to fulfill canonical teachings by assisting his readers to make the correct spiritual choice.

Lambert's Individuality

It is possible for a man to be a scholar without necessarily being a scribe, and he can have a great many artistic skills without having artistic training. However unusual, and however flawed, the *Liber Floridus* is too large, too coherent and too individual a creation to be seen as an artistic freak rather than a work of art. Lambert is certainly shown in his self-portrait as sitting at a classic scriptorium desk, suggesting he had a role in the scriptorium of his house. Lambert's work must have been approved by his fellows even if it was not actively encouraged, for it continued for at least

nine years, and his finished work was considered to be worth keeping. Parchment was bought in from outside, and Lambert's must have been the scrap left over from this by the scriptorium. His inks also seem rather more like left-overs than mainstream supplies. Lambert therefore may have worked in a minor role within the Saint-Omer scriptorium. Linda L. Brownrigg reconstructs the working practices and training of scribes in a house of canons regular during the twelfth century.[30] Her research suggests that a trainee scribe would begin with the supposedly easier tasks of ruling lines, collating chapters, drawing and colouring. The scribe would then progress onto the rubrication of simple initials. Scripting text was one of the final and most difficult tasks; a 'master' would write the first few lines as an exemplum, and the scribe would copy his style. The 'master' might have to provide further exempla through the manuscript as the scribe's grasp of the style wavered.[31] Lambert shows himself reasonably adroit at the first of these tasks, but his script, without the aid of a master to guide him, wavers in style and quality throughout. It may be that Lambert's fellows were willing for him to spend time on the creation of the *Liber Floridus*, but did not wish to dedicate the services of a trained scribe from their small scriptorium. There are a number of incidences in the *Liber Floridus* were another hand takes over for a while. These pieces of text cannot be exempla, for their quality is little different from that of Lambert. It may be that these are trials of the work of trainee scribes. Brownrigg explains sections showing a number of different hands as occasions where

a scribe is given the chance to write part of a relatively unprestigious text as a test of their ability to partake in a greater work.[32] This would show Lambert's work as effectively a side-product of the normal scriptorium tasks.[33] The scriptorium at a small house such as Saint-Omer would probably have not been very large, but must have contained at least standard texts.[34]

Lambert almost certainly had little or no special training in scripting or drawing,[35] but there is evidence for him having spent a lot of time studying text and art. For instance, his writing style shows that he knew many quite complex abbreviations and used them correctly, but he often forgot to use some of the most simple forms.[36] This in itself suggests that Lambert was mostly self-taught, for "it does not seem that the technical manuals can ever have... sufficed to teach the craft."[37]

The contents of the *Liber Floridus* would make it useful to Lambert's house while Lambert's obvious devotion to the religious ideals that fill the *Liber Floridus* would reassure him about his personal spiritual situation. It is certain that whatever the physical quality of Lambert's work, it merits recognition through the advanced and complex theories behind it; that Lambert was not creating a straightforward encyclopedia for reference purposes, but was producing a work to present readers with a spiritual ultimatum. Planned as it was for doctrinal and devotional use, Lambert's complicated imagery would not be a spiritual distraction, as the *Liber Floridus* images were designed for meditation and consideration.

Although the *Liber Floridus* contains a wide variety of images, only a remarkably small number can be considered as traditional devotional images.[38]

Lambert was willing to copy in order to create his pictures, and in fact his lack of trained skill necessitated it. This was not in itself unusual, for as an artist he would have been working in "the normal medieval way, that is by constructing his picture from pre-existent motifs and forms, and combining these so that both authority and variation are present in the work."[39] The range of motifs and forms available to any artist would vary, and he might make his choice from these for a number of reasons. The use of images in the *Liber Floridus* can well be described as eclectic. His work has variously been described as French, Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon, and indeed shows qualities of all these. All medieval artists used models for their work, but Lambert's wide range of sources, including manuscripts, seals, coins, suggests that Lambert was a bright, ingenious soul indeed.[40] In copying an earlier work, an artist might update the images or deliberately attempt to keep the feel of the original style. Lambert appears to have been particularly adept at combining elements from a number of sources in just one miniature. This method effectively doubles the messages that an image portrays to the viewer, who 'reads' not only the principal representations within the images, but also picks up upon the implications of the styles and traditions suggested. Thus *Christ between Church and Synagogue* (discussed in chapter 5 below) combines an illustration of Church and Synagogue with contemporary

crucifixion imagery, early Christian figures and the traditional representation of a hell mouth, to name but some elements, and showing how diverse were the models available to Lambert.

This also shows how Lambert must have put much thought and preparation into this picture before ever creating the finished draft. His work is enthusiastic, but not necessarily spontaneous. While Lambert's text often shows signs of misjudgement, his pictures always seem well-balanced. This means that as well as the time spent finding the sources for his illustrations, Lambert probably did preparatory sketches. At first sight, Lambert's historical record gives way before his cosmological interests, but W. Wellerbee states that "the ultimate object of cosmological study is the orientation towards human life".[41] Lambert's work is certainly cosmological, and concentrates on the position of man within the universe. If the focus of the *Liber Floridus* is on the cosmos as reflected through man, and as Lambert's view of mankind must ultimately begin with himself, then as the author of this work Lambert is viewing the cosmos - both physical and temporal[42] - from within from his personal view point at the centre of mankind. Therefore Lambert as the author/artist of the *Liber Floridus* can be seen as the ultimate focus of his own studies. In the first few pages of the *Liber Floridus* (fol. 2v), Lambert ends a short section on relative distances (how many feet in a furlong, how many furlongs in a league, and so on) with a notation of the distance from Saint-Omer to Rome.[43] This would surely be of little practical use to anyone - as

simply the direct distance, it could not really be used by a traveller. Instead this computation, because it remains abstract, provides a purely intellectual association of Lambert's own church and home with its mother church in the greatest clerical centre in the world.

By the twelfth century the personality of the creator shown within his work could take on a number of principal forms:

"For the first time, artists either insist on making themselves known by name, or by including themselves by first person reference in their works...or make portraits of themselves, even in the holiest of contexts."[44]

Lambert's work includes at least two of these forms. Lambert's *self-portrait* is close to the beginning of the work on fol. 13r, and the Prologue (fol. 3v) contains his name. Later he associates himself not once, but twice, with the writing of the book: "*Lamberti, qui librum scripsit*" (fol. 26v) and "*Lambertus filius Onulfi qui librum fecit*" (fol. 154r).[45] Lambert identifies himself not as the artist but as the maker (*fecit*) and as the writer of the book ("*scripsit*") and indeed even his portrait shows him writing and not drawing. This could be because writing was seen more as the intelligent, inventive side of the work, or simply that Lambert had only seen author-portraits of scribes.[46]

The pride in a work revealed by the use of an author portrait implies the renewed importance of personal achievement. This general growth in the self-awareness of the

artist was an important move towards the humanism - the sense of the importance of the artist as a person - that marked the twelfth-century renaissance.[47] Now, a writer/artist's personal contributions could stand in just as much credit as ideas from antiquity which "served no longer as a means of expression but only as models and prototypes."[48]

In *The Rise of the Artist in the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance*, Martindale traces the change in attitude to around the year 1100 - this had sufficiently developed that by the Eadwine Psalter of around 1150 the self-portrait had become a full page miniature (plate 26).[49] This change in attitudes to self-portraiture can be linked to the changes in religious movements around this time - the years surrounding 1100 saw the foundation and growth of a number of religious orders,[50] and as competition increased between various movements, religious orders had to compete for popularity. In such a climate the naming of the author of a new major work can be seen not just as a method to gain personal prominence, but as something which could improve the reputation of that individual's house or order. It is to be noted that Lambert refers to both himself and his father as canons of the house of St Omer. Lambert's full page self portrait quickly follows a portrait of his house's patron, *Saint Audomarus* (fol. 6v), and is housed within Saint-Omer itself and is surrounded by text detailing the history the town, the house of Saint-Omer and the abbots who have ruled it. In this way, the artist and his house (and therefore his fellows, his abbot and his order) lend

credibility to each other. The illustration of *St Audomarus* is the first image in the *Liber Floridus*; the author portrait is the second, both prefacing the major work of the manuscript. Thus the two images would naturally be associated in the mind of someone reading the *Liber Floridus* from the beginning. Lambert's *self portrait* (plates 4 and 5) shows him in a pose typical for such illustrations, at an ornate desk - though less florid than that used by the supposedly more austere Benedictine, Eadwine (plate 26). He holds a knife and quill. To hand is what could either be a beaker of ink or paint, or, more likely, an ink horn slotted through a hole in the desk. Although the book in which he writes faces him, the writing is turned towards the reader, and the words can just be deciphered.[51]

Lambert's facial features are different than any others in the *Liber Floridus*, and could well be drawn from real life.[52] They are more boldly drawn and less delicate than those of for instance St Audomarus (plate 3). The one visible ear is noticeably large and the clean-shaven chin is big and plump. Lambert appears to have been blessed with a head of fine, curly hair, again unlike any other in the manuscript. His hair springs back from his forehead towards his tonsure, in strong contrast to St Audomarus who is somewhat bald and whose tonsure seems to have been drawn in for identification purposes. Although Lambert must have been at least in his forties (see above) he does not look particularly old. A piece of work containing such a candid truth as the true

representation of the author himself has its verisimilitude improved throughout, and this again can engender a pride in the author for himself.

Once an artist places a picture of himself within his work, he becomes the subject as well as the artist (and in Lambert's case, the writer). Lambert's portrait is part of the main body of the *Liber Floridus*, and not an image in the margin. This means that he meant it to be a principal part of his work, instead of just an aside. In becoming the subject of his work the *author* proves he is both aware of himself, directly aware of a readership as an 'audience' for his work, and sensible of the relationship of direct communication between himself and this audience.[53] This means that when the self-portrait on fol. 13r is combined with Lambert's first person message "*Ego Lambertus...*" in the Prologue on fol. 3v, what is created is not the basis of a work aimed abstractly at an indefinite readership, but a sense of a direct and forceful message with a specific audience in mind.

In many works the author portrait stands climactically at the end of the work, almost like a musician or actor presenting himself for applause at the end of his act,[54] or, as Lambert does, well towards the start of the work. This means that the author is associated with the work right from the first few pages and his portrait appears suitably close to his prologue, possibly the most personal section of the manuscript, for here he sets down his individual motives. As Lambert's portrait is also associated with that of St

Audomarus, Lambert is associated not only with his work, but with the saintly origins of his own order.

Lambert's self-portrait is not large and barely coloured; it makes a strong contrast to the bright illustration and to the self-important trumpeting that identifies Eadwine, "Prince of Scribes" on fol. 283v of the Eadwine Psalter of around 1150 (plate 26).[55] Lambert does not sign his work, and is identified on his portrait simply as ".L." This can be seen partly as modesty, but principally there is an implication that Lambert needs no further identification. This could be, at least in part, because Lambert planned his works for his own colleagues who would know who he was. This also implies that if Lambert expected his readership to know him, then he did not expect the *Liber Floridus* to have a lifespan much different from his own. In other words, Lambert thought that the coming eschaton was imminent. Thus Lambert, a relatively ordinary canon, and certainly not a renowned philosopher or theologian like Abelard or Anselm, felt capable enough to propound with great confidence on hundreds of pages of often very complex theology and eschatology.

[1] R.E. Kaske, *Medieval Christian Literary Imagery: A Guide to Interpretation* (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1988), p.202.
[2] J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.44.
[3] Lambert traces the genealogy of his mother's family on fol. 154r. This is discussed in V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the Structure of the Liber Floridus"* (PhD. thesis, Ohio State University, 1979), p.21.
[4] "Early monastic training...tended to create a 'monastic personality' in which monastic values were internalised." J.F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France* (New York, Harper and Row, 1970), p.21.
[5] Compare with examples in V. Wylie Egbert, *The Medieval Artist at Work* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1967), *passim*.
[6] On the potential use of the library of Saint-Bertin by Lambert, see the Introduction (above). The potential links between Saint-Omer and its allied houses of Saint-Vaast, Arras, Saint-Amand and Canterbury are explored by H. Swarzenski, 'Comments upon the Figural Illustrations' in A. Derolez (ed.) *Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers read at the International Meeting held in the University Library, Ghent on 3-5 September 1967* (Ghent, E. Story-Scientia, 1973), p.25.
[7] D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London, Longman, 1992), p.89.
[8] St Dunstan spent some time in exile at Saint-Bertin, and there were also links with the family of Edward the Confessor. See "The Liber Floridus as an Encyclopedia" in chapter 2 below.
[9] D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p.37.
[10] D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p.37. R. C. Van Caenegem includes a section entitled 'The Date of the Fortification of Saint-Omer' in his 'The Sources of Flemish History in the Liber Floridus' in A. Derolez (ed.), *Colloquium*, pp.71-83, however this is principally concerned with general fortifications against invading Norsemen in the middle of the ninth century.
[11] Lambert states that he acquired the text for chapter CLXXXVIII ("*Inclita Gesta Pii Regis Apollonii*" (fols. 263v-269v)) from a stranger passing through Saint-Omer.
[12] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.21. This ease of association between Church and laymen was continued in Lambert's own time through a confraternity in which clerics and men of the world were joined in the cult of St Omer for prayers, friendship and funerals. See D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p.118.

[13] Examples naturally abound - one can be found when Lambert leaps from the doctrine of the Trinity on fol. 83v to 'De Denario' a satirical poem on money, on fol. 84r.
[14] The rise in popularity of the canons regular is dealt with by C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of religious life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, Longman, 1984), pp.137-142.
[15] Some houses wrote their own rule, some followed the Rule of Aachen and some adopted the so-called Rule of St Augustine (it was not written by him, but based upon one of his letters).

This was available in both a strict and a moderate form. See C.W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother* (Berkeley, California, London University of California Press, 1982), p.27.

[16] J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p.44.

[17] J.R. Tanner *et al.* (eds.), *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 5 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968), p.678.

[18] C. Dereine, 'L'élaboration du statut canonique des chanoines réguliers spécialement sous Urbain II', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* 46 (1951).

[19] M. Deansley, *A History of the Medieval Church 590-1500*, (London, Methuen, [1969] 1979), p.124.

[20] J.R Tanner *et al.* (eds.), *The Cambridge Medieval History*, p.679.

[21] C. Rudolph, *Artistic Change at Saint-Denis: Abbot Suger's program and the early twelfth-century controversy over art* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992), p.15.

[22] V.H.H. Green, *Medieval Civilisation and Western Europe* (London, Edward Arnold, 1971), p.155.

[23] *Colloquium magistri et discipuli in regulam beati Augustini de vita clericorum*, by the twelfth-century Master of Bridlington, Bodleian Library, Ms. Add. 40008, fol. 56v. Translation from J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons* (London, SPCK, 1950), p.187.

[24] J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p.192. Dickinson provides on p.187 a list of notable learned canons from the twelfth century.

[25] The emphasis upon moral responsibility by the canons regular is explored extensively by C.W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp.27-58. One example can be found in the early twelfth-century *Regula Clericorum* of Peter of Porto, where much of Book 1, chapter 2 is borrowed from chapter 4 of the Rule of St Benedict, but in two separate places, Peter specifically adds the obligation to bring others to virtue by word and example. See J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, p.163, cols. 708 C-D and 709B-C.

[26] C.W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp.57-8.

[27] Paschal II to the canons of St Botolph, Chichester, quoted in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 (1830), p.106-7. Although this evidence is not specific to Saint-Omer, in describing the principal duties of canons, it could well be applied to any canonical house around this time.

[28] "*...ut eo amplius creatura in Creatoris sui amorem exardescat...*"

[29] "*Ego Lambertus filius Onulfi, canonicus Sancti Audomari, libellum istum de diversorum auctorum floribus Deo sanctoque Audomaro, pio patrono nostro, contexui, ut tanquam de celesti prato, flore diverso coadunato, fideles apicule ad hunc confluerent saporisque celestis inde dulcedinem haurirent*"
In this passage Lambert refers to St Audomarus as 'our pious patron' ('*pio patrono nostro*') implying that Audomarus is not only his patron, but that of the audience to whom the *Liber Floridus* is addressed. This does indeed suggest that Lambert created the *Liber Floridus* for the benefit of his fellow canons at Saint-Omer.

[30] L. L. Brownrigg, 'The Twelfth-Century Scriptorium at Frankenthal' in L. L. Brownrigg (ed.), *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence* (Los Altos Hills, The Red Gull Press, 1990), pp.89-93.
[31] L.L. Brownrigg, *The Twelfth-Century Scriptorium*, p.90.
[32] L.L. Brownrigg, *The Twelfth-Century Scriptorium*, p.93.
[33] The main work of a scriptorium in the twelfth century would have centred upon a collection of service books and patristic works. see for instance R.W. Hunt, 'The Library of St Albans', in M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries; Essays Presented to N. Ker* (London, Scolar Press, 1978). Although this evidence is not specific to Saint-Omer, in describing the basic work in a twelfth-century scriptorium, it could well provide an idea of the situation in many houses around this time.
[34] A. Derolez (*Lambertus qui Librum fecit*, p.471) examines some of the books surviving from the library of the Chapter in the Municipal Libraries of Boulogne-sur-Mer and Saint-Omer, finds some of Lambert's principal sources united in a small number of compilations and hypothesises that Lambert would have been able to create the *Liber Floridus* from the bookstock at Saint-Omer. Whether this is true, or merely probable, it suggests to some extent the range of the Saint-Omer library. Derolez claims that these works often show marks and annotations in Lambert's hand, suggesting that he was allowed to be rather free with these books.
[35] This is supported by A. Derolez (ed.), *Liber Floridus*, p.XII.
[36] Lambert used few abbreviations, and then only such abbreviations as were current in his day. Even when he uses unusual abbreviations, they are not idiosyncratic. For instance on fol. 256v his use of 'ꝺ' for what is commonly spelt 'qꝺ', but this abbreviation is not unknown. The major exception to Lambert's use of abbreviations is his habitual use of -us for -s.This suggests that Lambert had had little formal training. He was not sufficiently familiar with even the commonest abbreviations to use them unthinkingly and correctly. At the same time he was aware, possibly from reading, of the more complex abbreviations, and was at pains to remember them. For this information I am relying upon A. Derolez (ed.), *Liber Floridus*, pp.XII-XIV.
[37] J.J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1992), p.12.
[38] Here I am defining a 'traditional devotional' image as a static figural illustration that could be used for devotional purposes. Into this category could be placed the now lost image of the Virgin and Child, and potentially some of the miniatures - such as the triumph of the Lamb - from the Apocalypse cycle (also no longer extant). The image of St Audomarus could well be seen as simply devotional, but it was only really of local interest. Even *Christ between the Church and Synagogue* (fol. 253r, plate 1) itself is more didactic than directly devotional.
[39] J.J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p.73.

[40] Lambert's use of eclectic visual sources has its equivalent in his use of textual sources as well. For instance, Lambert was an early proponent of the inclusion of poetry into an encyclopedic work. See A. Derolez, *Report on the Proceedings of the Liber Floridus Colloquy, Ghent University Library 5-6 September 1967* (Ghent, Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, 1969), p.231.
[41] W. Wellerbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1972), p.30.
[42] See "The Liber Floridus as a Twelfth-Century Manuscript" in Chapter 2 below.
[43] "*Sunt a castro sancti Audomari usque ad Romam leuge CCCCXXXVII*"
[44] M. Stevens, 'The Performing Self in Twelfth-Century Culture', *Viator* 9, (1978), p.194.
[45] Both of these incidences occur when Lambert is in fact connecting himself (and his work) with mentions of his parents. The first occurs when Lambert includes the death of his father in the annals (fol. 43v): "*Onulfus canonicus pater Lamberti qui librum scripsit obit*". The second, on fol. 154r, places Lambert as "*Lambertus filius Onulfi qui librum fecit*" within the context of a genealogical table of his mother's family.
[46] In a late eleventh-century illuminated copy of Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 717, fol. 287v), the monk Hugo has titled his portrait 'Hugo Pictor', but shown himself with quill and knife - that is, as a scribe. J.J.G. Alexander (*Medieval Illuminators*, p.10) suggests that this shows how the tasks of artist and scribe have become complimentary by this time. See also J.J.G. Alexander, 'Scribes as Artists - the Arabesque initials in Twelfth-Century English Manuscripts,' in M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries*, *passim*.
[47] "The figure gains a fully realised identity in the twelfth century, and the mode of the artist speaking *qua* artist is a signal departure from the literature and art of Western civilisation." M. Stevens, *The Performing Self*, p.195.
[48] E. Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin and in the Middle Ages*, Trans. R. Mannheim (London, Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1965), p.362.
[49] T.A. Heslop, "Eadwine and his Portrait," in M. Gibson, T.A. Heslop, R.W. Pfaff (eds.) *The Eadwine Psalter* (London, Modern Humanities Research Association; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp.178-185.
[50] Examples include the Carthusian Order (founded 1084), the Knights Templar (originated c1115) and the Cistercians (flourishing from 1109) as well as the canons regular.
[51] "*Anno MLII ostendit archiepiscopus Wido sanctum Audomarum populo*"
[52] These features, curly hair, plump chin and large ears, are such that could be drawn without the artist looking in a mirror.

[53] M. Stevens, *The Performing Self*, p.194. Although Stevens concentrates primarily on the emergence of the literary self, his section IV is dedicated to artistic awareness, and Lambert's unusual position as author/artist means that his attitude to his written work and his attitude to his art cannot easily be separated.

[54] M. Stevens, *The Performing Self*, p.205.

[55] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17.1.

The *Liber Floridus* in Context

The *Liber Floridus* as an Encyclopedia

In his Prologue to the *Liber Floridus* (fol. 3v) Lambert's own ideals show that his reasons for creating his work were inspired by his faith and a need to create in others a spiritual enthusiasm:

"It is fitting that for the praise and glory of Our Lord the All-Redeemer we wish to search diligently his great and wonderful works and commend them to the hearing of the faithful, so that the creature may burn the more fervently in love for its Creator, the more it recognises the ineffable wonder and newness of the things he did."[1]

Lambert saw himself as one of these 'searchers', with a duty to aid the faithful (in his case, his fellows) in their recognition of the Lord, and thus their salvation. Lambert's "contemporaries were frightened by the voluminous learned works of the past and thankful for brief information and short extracts."[2] Lambert provided these, for he himself had no such fear - the diversity of sources used by him suggest that his work is the fruit of wide-reading in a well-stocked library.

Traditionally, the history of the medieval encyclopedia is most commonly begun with Isidore of Seville. He was a Spanish Christian at a time when paganism was still a serious rival to Christianity. Thus his work contains much of pagan (classical) daily life, but he avoids involvement in pagan beliefs, such as the astrology that would become so

popular in future centuries. Lambert was to take a similar stance in the twelfth century.[3] Isidore's most famous work, the *Etymologiae* or *Origines* gives explanations of the world based on the definitions of words.[4] This seems a strange beginning for Lambert's own picture-oriented work, and the main intermediaries in this transition were the works of Rabanus Maurus. In *De Universo*, Rabanus took Isidore's work and imposed upon it a moral gloss whilst still retaining the basic framework. Rabanus's work was soon illustrated from copies of the Isidore original.[5]

Lambert had access to some of Rabanus' work.[6] In the Montecassino version of Rabanus' *De Universo* there are future echoes of a number of Lambert's illustrations. For instance there is a strong similarity between Lambert's *Griffin* (fol. 58v, plate 8) and that of Rabanus (plate 30, top right).[7] But even though Rabanus complained that art distorts the true meaning of a subject,[8] Lambert illustrated his own work. This may be because the *Liber Floridus* seems to have been very much the personal work of one man. Lambert may not have been in a situation to command the services of a more professional artist, or it could simply be that with a work as personal as the *Liber Floridus*, no artist, however competent, could have understood Lambert's vision of image and text combined.

Lambert's choice of material for his encyclopedia combined his message to his fellow Christians along with what those readers themselves would wish to know and would expect to find in an encyclopedia. This choice included usual subjects for such an encyclopedia: calendars, general histories and the

like, but with a definite touch of individualism, which implied that Lambert was putting the interests of his house (as well as his ideas of a spiritual choice) first.[9] All this he attempted to set out in a relatively coherent style; topical arrangement being the only option until paper became cheap and plentiful enough to make alphabetical organisation a viable opportunity.[10] However, in an effort to make his work as coherent as possible, Lambert does include some self-referencing notes, for instance, in his history of Britain (fols. 68v-73r) Lambert annotates a mention of King Arthur to remind the reader that the monarch has already been mentioned in the Wonders of Britain section (fols. 63v-64v). This implies that Lambert intended the *Liber Floridus* to be used by his fellows.[11]

The study of the *Liber Floridus* as a whole used to be hampered by limited access to the manuscript. This meant that it was difficult for those studying the *Liber Floridus* to appreciate the quality of the illustrations and to regard the text and images as a single entity. The production of the *Liber Floridus* facsimile allowed the unity of the work to be seen, the way in which the text, images and *schema* of the *Liber Floridus* combine in producing Lambert's message of the importance of the Church in salvation. This interpretation of illustrations with the text extracts is central to the distinctive use which Lambert claimed for his encyclopedia. His images expand on these text extracts in important ways, acting as a glossator's commentary to the included texts. While the *Liber Floridus* is typical of a medieval encyclopedia in the

types of information included - such as annals, scientific treatises, diagrams and symbolic works - it is Lambert's orchestration of this information, and his reinterpretation of some of it, which makes the *Liber Floridus* so crucial.

Lambert shows a clear scale of values in the information that he chooses for his encyclopedia, devoting much of his work to "Man's position in the Universe and in history, ethics and eschatology."[12] In his historical sections, he concentrates much more on recent history rather than events of Biblical history. This should not be seen as Lambert restricting the usability of his encyclopedia by curtailing his information - if Lambert felt that the *Liber Floridus* fulfilled its purpose of spiritual exhortation, then he would probably have thought of this as suitably comprehensive. Unlike now, there cannot be seen at this time the modern day compulsion to give equal and impartial space to all things. Lambert chose his subjects according to their usefulness to his purpose for his readers, and the importance of the information in relation to his overriding themes of the Church in salvation. It is within this context that the subjects covered should be considered 'encyclopedic'.

In the tradition of medieval scribes and artists (see chapter 1 above), Lambert was happy to alter earlier manuscripts to fit his particular purpose.[13] His work had to educate, but at all costs should avoid the confusion that could prevent salvation and even lead to heresy. In this way, what mattered was not the actual facts of the past, but how they could help man's spiritual growth:

"Men firmly believed that the object of written history was to teach them to take note of what was required for their eternal salvation."[14]

Lambert used a noticeably large section (about one quarter to one half) of the *Liber Floridus* to deal with the reckoning of time and historical material.[15] Within this grouping a large number of items are chronological lists and series, and genealogical and annalistic studies. Even the Martyrology contains so many historical entries that Francis Wormald proposes that this document should be called a calendar.[16] Although this 'calendar' contains much information in commemoration of saints, it also includes events of historical importance - the majority of which are concerned with the first crusade. Some of these actually reappear in the Annals. There are an unusually large number of quasi-historical, rather than liturgical, incidents in the life of Christ. This begs the question of whether Lambert included these because he personally liked them or because he thought they would be of particular use to the reader. In fact, the calendar and annals fit well with Lambert's attempt to present to his readers a revelation of the role of the Church in the coming eschaton. Lambert places contemporary events in the sixth age of the world, and his calendars and annals show an awareness of time passing in that age. Lambert includes a number of entries referring to the First Crusade, in particular the taking of Jerusalem (fol. 28v - "*Hierusalem Franci capiunt virtute potenti. Die XXXVIII.* [of the siege of Jerusalem] *Anno MXC.VIIII*"). This fulfilled the prophecies that Jerusalem must

be held by the Christians before Antichrist could appear[17] and shows that Lambert believed the Crusade was a sign of the coming eschaton. The link of the Crusade with the role of the Church in Salvation is touched upon many times within the *Liber Floridus*.[18] Lambert may have also appreciated the effects of the calendars and annals for other reasons.

Lists are an excellent way to appreciate and learn the bare bones of a subject, which can then be clothed with as much further detail from other sources as the individual scholar wishes. A calendar or a historical chart, showing both linked events within history and also the constant repetition of the times and seasons, could be used as a metaphor for temporality and thus represent "the perpetual, revolving motion that propels the material universe and human history."[19] This sense of orderly, cyclical movement was a common attribute of Lambert's diagrams. Charts and diagrams can often be used to discover or show an underlying theme within a seemingly confused selection of data. This is just the sort of result for which Lambert would have striven. His use of historical entries in the calendar appears to be an example of Lambert attempting to find connections and patterns within history.[20]

Lambert's calendar was not for liturgical use because this was not Lambert's overall purpose for the *Liber Floridus*. A document of such direct application as a liturgical one would have been out of place in the midst of such a meditative document. Instead the calendar has a more philosophical purpose in showing the patterns of history. For instance, Lambert gives for 25th March "Christ announced and suffered" (the

Annunciation and Crucifixion). He also gives for the same date "The world was made, Adam formed. The Sacrifice of Isaac, the Crossing of the Red Sea by the Children of Israel, and the Victory of St Michael over the Dragon."[21] All these can be seen as precursors of the two events in the life of Christ.[22] F. Wormald describes this tendency in the *Liber Floridus* as "a really remarkable example of the medieval love for placing significant events in conjunction with one another."[23] Further evidence of this tendency to join ideas can be seen in Lambert's consistent use of the label 'ecclesia' through images in the manuscript (described in full in chapter 3 below) and in the compositional similarities between the *Minotaur in the Labyrinth* (fol. 20r) and *Antichrist Riding Leviathan* (fol. 62v) (described in chapter 4 below) to name but two. In finding links throughout the world shown in the *Liber Floridus* Lambert creates a cumulative effect, spreading his spiritual message outwards through the manuscript and making it seem consistent and convincing to the reader.

Lambert uses an elaborate compotistical framework for his calendar,[24] but also includes so much information that it would no longer have been suitable for the traditional liturgical uses. This can be seen as an 'encyclopedic' trait in Lambert's work, which connects all things together. Lambert's general and encyclopedic portrayal of history mostly precludes the biographical concepts of individual greatness that can be found in both ancient and modern historical works.[25] Lambert does however emphasise the position of figures of local interest, for instance Charles the Bald and in

particular Godfrey of Bouillon, Flemish leader of the First Crusade:

"The encyclopedia was created by Lambert to give Flanders and Saint-Omer its deserved place in world history through the fame of Godfrey of Bouillon and the importance of Flanders in the First Crusade."[26]

In emphasising the role of local Crusaders, Lambert was therefore linking local history with global events, and putting the world of his own experiences into a macrocosmic context. Thus it might be said that Lambert was not interested in the greatness of any person, but a place - Flanders and in particular Saint-Omer. The loyalty that anyone would feel to their place of vocation was undoubtedly increased by the fact that it had also been the place of his father's vocation and thus, probably, the place of his own childhood and upbringing.[27] In his Martyrology, local saints predominate, followed by Flemish and Northern French ones. along with local saints' days and obits Lambert included many local people, at least one of which was a member of his own family.[28] Lambert's calendar gives an exhaustive list of local festivals, but passes over a number of Saint-Bertin anniversaries. Lambert also includes a number of foreign anniversaries that have relevance only to Saint-Omer as a place. The obit of Edward the Confessor is given as 5th January. Gytha, the mother-in-law of Edward the Confessor, fled to Saint-Omer in 1068 as her family had strong links with the area. (Judith, daughter of Baldwin IV, Count of Flanders, married Tostig, the brother of Edward's wife Edith and thus was

Edward's sister-in-law.) The death of St. Dunstan, who was exiled in Saint-Bertin, is given for 18th May. Lambert had access to Anselm of Canterbury's *Cur Deus Homo* less than ten years after it was first written, and claimed to met St. Anselm himself.[29] Saint-Omer and Saint-Bertin were both allied to Christ Church, Canterbury and the links between the three were strong throughout the middle ages.[30] It is not particularly surprising to find St. Augustine of Canterbury in the obituary.

Lambert's purpose then was patently not the creation of a historical biography, but was rather more specialised. To expect him to deal rationally with figures throughout history is to expect him to view all history with equal weight and to expect him to view posterity with as much importance as his own time. Lambert's work shows an eschatological perspective, that is, a belief in the importance of the Last Days, and of their relevance to contemporary existence. Lambert was dealing with a particular audience - his fellow scholars, and because Lambert saw his work as providing the canons with a crucial choice for the coming eschaton, he was not working for posterity, but was recording things for immediate practical use. Lambert himself then probably saw his work as having only a short span of use. His work shows an awareness of contemporary, subjects - such as the Crusade - in connection with eschatological ideals. This implies most strongly that he felt the Last Days were linked with those recent events and that it was vital then to set down important information and ideas for his fellows before it was too late.

The *Liber Floridus* as a twelfth-century manuscript

The term 'twelfth century' is naturally always used with caution, for no movements of style or attitude should be expected to fit neatly into one hundred-year span. Here the term should be understood to represent the period beginning 1050 and ending approximately at 1220, embracing a growth in enthusiasm in most communicative media and with an ecclesiastical basis. The twelfth century has been distinguished as a time that used medieval methods (such as symbolism) to illustrate rational reasons for a world seen in a religious context.[31] Lambert's work can be placed at around the middle of this era, and it is characteristic in that it attempts to produce a religious message through symbolic means.

In a sensitive account of medieval attitudes to iconography, P. Crossley states that medieval art was created with an awareness of its symbolic effects.[32] This works well with the hypothesis that Lambert was conscious he was creating complex, symbolic works capable of supporting and transmitting his ideas of the role of the Church in salvation. This must be borne in mind when considering Lambert's choice of illustrative subjects. Lambert's choice of pictures work not just as illustrations to the texts (discussed above); they stand as independently realised parts of the manuscript and contained individual messages reflecting, but not necessarily covered by, the textual entries. Lambert was using his art in pioneering new interpretations of his predecessors. While Rabanus had given Isidore's work a moralising gloss, Lambert re-organised

the information that the two of them presented to him. He chose only those parts of Rabanus' work that suited the priorities of his message to his fellows, and placed them within his own moral framework. A good example of this is Lambert's condensation of the huge catalogues of plant types into his succinctly moralised *Beatitude Trees* and *Trees of Vices and Virtues* (plates 15, 16 and 19-21).[33] Lambert does not simply reproduce the works and ideas of predecessors with contemporary philosophies tacked on. Instead, current and personal ideas and ideals to form the core of his work, and previous knowledge is fitted around this.

This is not unusual in the creation of an original work, and even copies of medieval manuscripts at this time would rarely be facsimiles; that is to say precise copies of the original. Although Swarzenski states that "...in all the illustrations of purely didactic or scientific matter... the models had to be rendered by necessity of their purpose with an unfailing accuracy."[34] this does not apply to the figural illustrations, for even the various copies of the *Liber Floridus*, which treat Lambert's work with great reverence, make some alterations and omissions to the figural images.[35] As Swarzenski notes, "contrary to the text, each picture in Lambert's autograph is complete and perfected, ready to be copied without correction and alteration."[36] Part of this was of course because of the technical nature of some of the pictures. As the nuances in an illustration could be lost so much more easily, copying a picture was an even greater task than deciphering a poorly written piece of text.

A copy almost invariably showed some imagination and thus imbued an old picture with contemporary feelings and ideas. Swarzenski tells how "when the textual sources did not offer the desired appropriate illustrations, Lambert took them from other sources or even invented them."[37] This should not be taken to mean that Lambert chose or copied his illustrations just by the accessibility of his sources. His pictures are too particular for that. Albert Derolez has searched out manuscripts formerly in the library at Saint-Omer, now situated principally in the municipal libraries of Calais and Boulogne-sur-mer.[38] These manuscripts often show annotations and marks in Lambert's hand. This suggests that Lambert read through his potential sources beforehand, and from these he will have copied, condensed or synthesised both his textual entries and also some of his illustrations.

Lambert almost certainly had access to a Spanish manuscript of the *Beatus Apocalypse* and used this to provide a broad thematic structure.[39] The *Beatus Apocalypse* was often well illustrated, indeed these were the only manuscripts produced in Europe around Lambert's time that regularly contained a fully illustrated Apocalypse cycle. However, from this rich and unusual visual source, Lambert seems to take only some now-lost Revelation images and at least the idea for the *Dream of Nebuchadnezzar*.[40]

Lambert copied only what he felt was worthy of inclusion, but surely he did not include everything that fitted this criterion. Such an encyclopedic attitude would have made a much more random document than the *Liber Floridus* as we

know it. Swarzenski feels that Lambert's illustrations "do not represent a coherent whole" and "must be taken and evaluated one by one".[41] Certainly no single topical theme seems to fit Lambert's work. He was interested in the importance of Saint-Omer and Flanders as a whole, he devoted much time to cosmological diagrams, but neither can be used to explain all the material in the manuscript. However, although there may be no single overriding topical schema, there may be a number of coherent themes based upon Lambert exhortation to his fellows that forms the basis of ideas covered in the *Liber Floridus*;

"...the main framework was that of cosmology, the physical universe, human history, all set in Christian terms of Scripture, divine creation, the end of time, grace and salvation."[42]

This framework defined an orderly world, one where each part of the divine plan fitted neatly with its neighbours.[43] This idea of Creation, the Incarnation and ultimately the eschaton being linked as part of the pattern of the universe, also suggests that appreciation of each stage of existence can aid understanding as a preparation for the next stage. Lambert's work looks at contemporary knowledge as a preparation for the Last Days. In this macrocosm and microcosm, and the semi-pictorial diagrams so favoured by Lambert (discussed above), are examples of attempts to portray cosmic relations on a human, pictorial scale.[44] These are peculiar to the twelfth century.[45] Lambert liked diagrams. Often his work is more reminiscent of a draughtsman's work than an artist's, for he

often reduced potentially three-dimensional subjects (such as the *Minotaur in the Labyrinth* (fol. 20r, plate 6)) to a flat, organised design. This is not merely his lack of 'skill' for he tackled many other three-dimensional subjects such as the *Devil riding Behemoth* (fol.62r, plate 10) and *Heavenly Jerusalem* (fol. 52r, plate 13) with at least tolerable capability. This love of diagrams is borne out by the large number of diagrams within the *Liber Floridus*. They are the sign of an enquiring mind that felt there was a clear rhythm and design to be found in the universe, within the grasp of the twelfth-century man.

W. Sauerländer feels that art and information are separate, for he claims that the twelfth-century Renaissance of words cannot necessarily be paralleled in art.[44] These ideas do not seem applicable in the light of Lambert's art, for here was a man who used art and words in tandem to put across his meaning. Lambert's work cannot be seen as 'illuminated' for this implies images designed to decorate, as much, if not more, than they are meant to add to the written content of the manuscript. In most 'illuminated' manuscripts, the images could be removed without altering the import of the text. With Lambert's work however, text and image can be seen to be related, and to be equally important. In the *Liber Floridus*, beauty usually comes second to the didactic possibilities of the art - Lambert's revelation to his readership is more important than producing a manuscript of pleasing appearance. Lambert produces only a few, small

examples of purely decorative art, for instance fol. 188v. Even what may at first seem casual, spontaneous 'doodles' may have significance. Fol. 242r, (plate 23) the illustration immediately before *Christ between the Church and the Synagogue*, is of a simple cross, painted in a wash over the text so that the text remains visible beneath it. This could almost be taken as a clever way of hiding an accidental stain, but nonetheless provides an eloquent statement of Lambert's microcosmic attitude that God is present and triumphant through everything.

Art could show symbolically what might otherwise be "historically or dogmatically or intellectually unacceptable."[47] Its images could make an impact in a different way than a concrete statement would. Thus Lambert's *Christ between the Church and Synagogue* is of an Anti-Semitic tone which went against the contemporary Church attitudes,[48] but was shown in a symbolic fashion which would have been difficult to portray in straight text.

Lambert's work certainly uses style as well symbolism in the creation of its effect. Lambert's work shows evidence that he copied style as well as subject matter.[49] He felt enough admiration for classical works to copy them, but enough distance - and indeed enough confidence in his own ideals - to use them in a radically different manner than that for which they had first been designed:

"...the first medieval monuments in which the classical content is completely divorced from its original artistic form... In his illustrations he transforms the age-honoured formulae and patterns of late-classical origin into a

completely new form in which there is no longer an awareness of its classical descent."[50]

In the twelfth century, although the classical time was admired, this did not mean that people thought that they could not improve upon it. Dwarfs on the shoulders of giants they might have been, but they were nonetheless higher than the giants. Looking back to the past was only really useful in the skills and knowledge it could give that could be used in looking forward:

"Far more than the recovered knowledge of the past, it was the new knowledge of their own expanding present that challenged the minds of Western Europeans in the twelfth century."[51]

Lambert's interest in the past is always curtailed by the use that historical information may have for his message. As discussed above, Lambert's preoccupation with the sixth age of the world shows a preoccupation with the coming eschaton. By the fifteenth century, to have one's work mistaken for an antique was considered the highest possible praise. This would have been untenable in the twelfth century. Classical works would only be copied specifically for a particular interpretation, or just in a general sense, to give something a sense of age and venerability through a classical 'feel':

"...certain ancient and venerable structures were frequently copied in early medieval architecture, not accurately in order to produce an exact reproduction, but approximately and vaguely, with just enough essential features of the prototype to evoke its meaning, to allow the viewer to

experience, so to speak, the essential qualities of the original."[52]

Lambert was taking the effect of authority given by a classical feel to an image, and using it to give his illustrations a feeling of acceptable familiarity, even when he was creating a new image (such as *Christ between Church and Synagogue* (fol. 253r, plate 1), set on the Mount of Olives) or inserting new illustrations into a familiar series or concept (such as *Antichrist riding Leviathan* (fol. 62v, plate 11) and *the Devil riding Behemoth* (fol. 62r, plate 10), inserted into the bestiary cycle). This versatility in manipulating images to fit his message of spiritual choice is an important feature of what makes Lambert's work different from standard medieval encyclopedic compilations. It could be said that in the illustrations to the *Liber Floridus* there is still an awareness of the classical descent; it is merely viewed from a fresh and enterprising eye, willing to see these forms in whatever way they will work to create more striking illustrations. A good example of this is the way that classical illustration was used to form the inhabited initials at an early stage. Other, similar, late classical illustrations kept their original places in natural history works. Eventually, the latter were seen as 'old-fashioned' and replaced with animals based on those from the more contemporarily styled initials. Swarzenski sees this as the origin of Lambert's *Crocodile* (fol. 61v, plate 9):

"Having radically abandoned their classical pedigree and disguise, these stylised creatures have left, so to speak, the initials they inhabited in order to replace ancient models with more 'modern' creatures."[53]

Lambert's work found much meat in the symbolism of the long and complex Old Testament. Full of dramatic happenings and events now so obscure that they could only be seen in symbolic terms, it provided Lambert with ample topics for his illustrations. This symbolism often used typological themes which meant that Old Testament ideals were often seen as just reflections of New Testament ones. These ideas that "the Old Testament is nothing but the New covered with a veil and the New is nothing but the Old unveiled"[54] were summed up in the Church and Synagogue image, where Incarnational theology was seen to be accepted as the replacement for the ideas of the Old Testament. Such associative ideas were not however restricted to the Church and Synagogue image, but pervaded all media:

"In sculpture, drama and sermon alike, twelfth-century artists and preachers exhort their audiences... by an effective, psychological and associative process that renders the events of Christianity immediately and personally relevant. Viewers or listeners are thus invited to a process of judgement by being asked to consider where they stand."[55]

The *Liber Floridus* then was Lambert's contribution to his house, however amateur the scripting and unprofessional the art. Lambert's approach was certainly an individual and personal one, and this has led to criticisms that the *Liber Floridus* is "a chaotic and totally disorderly composition".[56]

However, it is Lambert's, own reflections that give his work unity and personality - he is the thing that unites this vast amount of information, and to understand the work you must appreciate the man.

This chapter looks at the *Liber Floridus* in the context of two particular influences upon it: the influence of contemporary expectations for an encyclopedia, and the influences in style and attitude of the so-called 'twelfth-century renaissance'. In both of these contexts, the *Liber Floridus* goes some way to fulfilling standard expectations, but Lambert is not afraid of using, changing or even abandoning any traditional attitudes to style or contents if it can further promote his production of a spiritual choice for his fellows.

[1] "*Ad laudem et Gloriam Domini nostri ac Redemptoris omnium pertinet eius magnalia operaque mirabilia diligenter perscrutari nos uelle et perscrutando ea fidelium auribus commendare, ut eo amplius creatura in Creatoris sui amorem exardescat, quo eum mirabiliora et magis inaudita ineffabiliter condidisse recognouerit.*" (Prologue, fol. 3v.)

[2] R.C. Van Caenegem, 'The Sources of Flemish History in the Liber Floridus' in A. Derolez (ed.) *Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers read at the International Meeting held in the University Library, 5-6 September 1967* (Ghent, E. Story-Scientia, 1973), p.71.

[3] By the twelfth century, astrological cycles were sufficiently divorced from their classical roots for men such as Lambert to include them in a Christian work. Albert Derolez claims that Lambert's rejecting of pagan authors and philosophers as sources for his encyclopedia is "remarkable". See A. Derolez, *Report on the Proceedings of the Liber Floridus Colloquy, Ghent University Library 5-6 September 1967* (Ghent, Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, 1969), p.225.

[4] V.H.H. Green, *Medieval Civilisation and Western Europe* (London, Edward Arnold, 1991), p.6.

[5] H. Swarzenski, 'Comments on the Figural Illustrations', *Colloquium*, p.27.

[6] As well as his use of *De Universo* (above), it was only around 1118 that Lambert first gained access to Rabanus Maurus' *De Rerum Naturis*, too late for it to have a formative influence on the creation of the *Liber Floridus*. See A. Derolez, *Lambertus qui Librum fecit: een codicologische studie van der Liber Floridus-autograaf: (Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek handschrift 92)* (Brussels, Paleis der Academiën, 1978), p.427.

[7] F. Saxl, 'Illustrated Medieval Encyclopedias', *Lectures*, (London, Warburg Institute, 1957), p.242.

[8] Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo*, discussed in R. Berliner, 'The Freedom of Medieval Art', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 28 (1945), p.276.

[9] R.C. Van Caenegem, *The Sources of Flemish History*, p.72

[10] A. Derolez, *Lambertus qui Librum Fecit*, *passim* suggests that the *Liber Floridus* started as a simple work and that Lambert attempted to add further information to the quires using a topical organisation. This would mean that the original structure would have become obscured. See also E.M. Sandford, 1948-9, p.462.

[11] Throughout the creation of the *Liber Floridus* Lambert used and revised a table of contents, which would also assist with any practical use of the manuscript. On Lambert's use of cross-referencing, and his tables of contents, see A. Derolez, *Lambertus qui Librum Fecit*, p.470.

[12] F. Saxl, *Illustrated Medieval Encyclopedias*', p.244.

[13] See F. Wormald, 'Bible Illustrations in Medieval

Manuscripts', in G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1969), for a resumé of scribes' attitudes in the Middle Ages.

[14] F. Wormald, '*The Calendar in the Liber Floridus*', p.13.

[15] F. Wormald, '*The Calendar of the Liber Floridus*', p.16.

[16] F. Wormald, '*The Calendar in the Liber Floridus*', p.13.

[17] See, for instance, Guibert of Nogent's *The Deeds of God through the Franks* in B. McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1979), p.91.

[18] As well as these mentions in the calendars and the annals, Lambert includes a brief description of the First Crusade in the text beneath the *Palm on Mount Zion* (fol. 76v), an image that is also labelled 'Ecclesia' (see chapter 3 below). Lambert's inclusion of an image of the Antichrist (fol. 62v). If Lambert believed that the Crusade heralded the Last Days, then he may well have thought that the Antichrist was already alive in his time. P.C. Mayo has suggest that the illustration *the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar* (fol. 232v, plate 22) is connected to Lambert's interest in the Crusade (P.C. Mayo, 'Crusaders under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the *Liber Floridus*', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), p.63). Whether this is the case is debatable, but what is certain is that the story of Nebuchadnezzar originates in Daniel, the only apocalyptic book of the Old Testament and certainly linked with Lambert's feeling of the coming eschaton.

[19] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.166.

[20] The connections and patterns within Lambert's work help to give it its eschatological perspective. For instance, the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade was seen to fulfilled prophecies regarding the coming of Antichrist (see above).

[21] "*Mundus factus, Adam plasmatus, Christus adnuntiatus et passus, Immolatio Isaac, et transitus Filiorum Israel per mare rubrum et victoria michahelis arcangeli contra draconem.*"

[22] F. Wormald, *The Calendar in the Liber Floridus*, p.14. These events are precursors either to the Crucifixion - for instance, the Victory of St Michael over the Dragon is mirrored by Christ triumphing in death over the Devil - or to the Annunciation - such as the formation of Adam in the image of God is reflected in the coming of Christ, being God as Man.

[23] F. Wormald, *The Calendar in the Liber Floridus*, p.14.

[24] F. Wormald, *The Calendar in the Liber Floridus*, p.30.

[25] G. B. Ladner, *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages* (Rome, Selected Studies in the History of Art, 1983), p.878.

[26] H. Bober, 'The Liber Floridus: structure and content of its imagery', *Colloquium*, p.19.

[27] Saint-Omer may have been the *only* place that Lambert knew and thus it is not surprising that it gains precedence. By extrapolating outwards from his knowledge of Saint-Omer, Lambert connects the known world with the unknown. See "Lambert and his world" in chapter 1 above.

[28] 27th January is given as the death of Onulfus, who is described elsewhere by Lambert as "*Onulfus, pater Lamberti, qui Librum scripsit*". From this, Wormald suggest that some other obits, Robert (31st October 1116), Eustace (4th October 1120) and Elizabeth (9th December 1120) may be for members of

Lambert's family (F. Wormald, p.16). This begs a number of questions: if Lambert named Onulfus as his father, why did he not name his relationship with the others? If it was not considered fitting, then why name then in the first place? Elsewhere, Lambert is always very careful to make his text and ideas a clear as possible.

[29] Anselm of Canterbury's *Cur Deus Homo* appears on fols. 144v-152r.

[30] Wormald states that even in the fifteenth century the monks of Canterbury still placed the monks of the affiliated house of Saint-Bertin after those of Canterbury in their obituary. See F. Wormald, *The Calendar in the Liber Floridus*, p.16. A further intimation of Lambert's interest in English events can be found in the comparatively large amount of English history and information included in the *Liber Floridus*, for instance *Beda Nomina ducum regumque Brittanorum* (fol. 68r), *Historia Anglorum a beato Beda uenerabili presbitero composita* (fol. 68v), *Chronica Bede de regibus Anglorum* (fol. 73r) and *Nomina XXVIII civitatum que sunt in Britannia* (fol. 75r).

[31] "The twelfth century conceived of a cosmos of symbols... in an overarching spiritual order, an order strong enough to give its due also to a sensible world and capable of reflecting the light of first things, the divine days and works of creation, as fully as the anticipated splendour of the *eschata*."
G. B. Ladner, "The Life of the Mind in the Christian West around the Year 1200", *The Year 1200 - A Symposium*, (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975), p.6.

[32] "the meanings... were multi-layered inherently right from the start, as well as after the fact." P. Crossley, 'Medieval Architecture and Meaning: the Limits of Iconography', *Burlington Magazine*, 130 (1988), p.117.

[33] "Condensing the old illustrative material, the new encyclopedic art used it to create symbols for the representation of moral ideas and dogma... these pictures are the first truly Christian illustrations of a comprehensive encyclopedic teaching." F. Saxl, *Illustrated Medieval Encyclopedias*, p.244. These illustrations have been condensed to emphasise the role of the Church as a virtuous and morally correct inspiration. This is discussed in chapter 3 below

[34] H. Swarzenski, *Figural Illustrations*, p.24.

[35] Comparison of Lambert's *Antichrist riding Leviathan* (fol 62v, plate 11 and *The Devil Riding Behemoth* (fol. 62r, plate 120 with those in the Wolfenbüttel copy (plate 29) show that the copyist has kept the basic outline, but lost the sense of proportion shown in the original. Behemoth has gained a low-slung body and a tiny head while the curious additions to Antichrist's shoes (discussed in chapter 4 below) have practically disappeared.

[36] H. Swarzenski, *Figural Illustrations*, p.21. Swarzenski is working on the theory that Lambert's autograph was kept in the chapter library so that a clean copy could be made which would then be circulated to other houses as required. Swarzenski does not, however, explain why this never happened.

[37] H. Swarzenski, *Figural Illustrations*, p.24

[38] A. Derolez, *Lambertus qui Librum Fecit*, p.471.
[39] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus", passim*, especially pp.30-32. Beatus of Liebana was a Spanish monk of the eighth century who wrote a twelve-book *Commentary on the Apocalypse of Saint John*. This work covered a wide, almost encyclopedic range of topics in its explanations of the Revelations. Produced in Spain, most manuscripts were illustrated and provided an exciting source of ideas and images for artists further north.
[40] H. Swarzenski, *Figural Illustrations*, p.26 and F. Wormald, *Bible Illustration in Medieval Manuscripts*, p.332. *The Dream of Nebuchadnezzar* (fol. 232v, plate 22) is possibly the most problematic illustration in the *Liber Floridus*. That it was a common topic for illustration in Spanish manuscripts is not in doubt, nor that Lambert had at least some access to at least one Spanish manuscript. However there is little physical similarity between Lambert's illustration and those in manuscripts of Beatus' work. Tuttle notes that "the conjunction of the lists of ages, metals and parts of the body with the tree is unique, this is the only illustration that conflates the two dreams... in no other example is the tree chopper represented as a king... the representation of the chain around the stump of the tree... is an unprecedented detail." (V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.324). Lambert has the tree chopped down not by peasants, but by an enigmatic figure identified by Mayo (pp.64-66) as a crusader king, possibly Godfrey de Bouillon, and by Tuttle (p.334) as Christ, neither with an overriding reason for their argument. What is certain is that this illustration provides us with another example of Lambert's independently-minded manipulation of ideas and themes to fit his own greater purpose.
[41] H. Bober, *Structure and Content*, p.19.
[42] L. Delisle, 'Notices sur les manuscrits de 'Liber Floridus' compose en 1120 par Lambert, chanoine de Saint-Omer, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits en la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 38:2, (1906), pp.582-583.
[43] "Creation was seen as preparation for the incarnation, which again was to receive its perfect final fulfillment in eschatology." G. B. Ladner, *The Life of the Mind*, p.6.
[44] Examples abound, including *The celestial spheres and the orbits of the planets* (fol. 226r), *The four seasons, the elements and the four humours* (fol. 228v) and Lambert's two illustrations of *The six ages of the world* (fol. 19v and fol. 20v).
[45] H. Swarzenski, *Figural Illustrations*, p.24.
[46] "The study of Antiquity in the schools of the twelfth century and the tendencies toward the imitation of Antiquity in twelfth-century art were at most very indirectly linked." W. Sauerländer, 'Architecture and the Figurative Arts: The North', in R.L. Benson & G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1982), p.704.
[47] R. Berliner, *The Freedom of Medieval Art*, p.263.
[48] See the section "The Jews" in chapter 4 below.

[49] For instance, Lambert's astrological cycle (fols 89r - 91v) shows a stylistic descent from late classical works, his Revelations cycle (no longer extant) shows the influence of a Spanish Apocalypse

[50] H. Swarzenski, *Figural Illustrations*, p.21.

[51] W. Treadgold (ed.), *Renaissances before the Renaissance* (Stanford, Stanford University Press 1984), p.137.

[52] P. Crossley, *Architecture and Meaning*, p.116

[53] H. Swarzenski,*Figural Illustrations*, p.24.

[54] J. Baldock, *The Elements of Christian Symbolism* (Shaftesbury, Element 1990), p.4. For a discussion on the symbolism of veils in this subject, see "Synagoga" in chapter 4 below.

[55] D. Bevington *et al.*, *Homo, Memento Finis: The Iconography of Just Judgement in Medieval Art and Drama*, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1985), p.59.

[56] H. Bober, *Structure and Content*, p.19.

The Church and Salvation

The selection of images dealt with in this thesis demonstrate that Lambert brought a spiritual choice before his brethren. Of these images, a large number are directly representative of the Church, and present the reader with an idea of the powerful role of the Church in salvation. The first three sections of this chapter deal with three topics representative of the Church, and central to an interpretation based around the centrality of Lambert's *Church and Synagogue* image (plate 1). The first two of these topics are Christ and Paradise. The third deals with 'Ecclesia', which here refers to the personification of the Church as a crowned woman. The final section deals with other, symbolic representations of the Church within the *Liber Floridus*.

Ecclesia

The pervasive image threading through the *Liber Floridus* is the image of the Church, both in symbol and as an allegorical form. Lambert had a standard repertory to which he could turn, for the image of Ecclesia as a crowned female figure was well established by 1120. From this tradition the distinctive image of Ecclesia on the Mount of Olives evolved. This chapter examines Lambert's conflation of imagery into a new formula for this topic.

The beginnings of an allegorised comparison of the Christian and Jewish faiths, and the idea of the Church as maiden served by Virtues, is first found along with the topic

of the Church as the Bride of Christ in Ephesians 5:22-33: "For the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the Church... Husbands love your wives, as Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her..." This idea was being elaborated in the writings of church theologians before Christian art had advanced beyond its infancy in the Roman catacombs. Hippolytus of Rome wrote an exegesis on the Old Testament story of Susanna and the Elders, describing Susanna as the Church; Joachim as Christ her husband; the Elders as the Pagans and the Jews, her enemies; her bath as the baptism which recreates the Church at Easter; her maidservants as Faith and Charity, who anoint her with perfume (the commandments of the Word) and oil (the grace of the Holy Spirit).[1]

By the third century the allegory of Ephesians had been expanded to explain further sections of the Bible, in particular the Song of Songs. The basis of these ideas were set out by Origen who said that the Song of Songs "must be understood in the spiritual sense, that is to say a celebration of the Union of the Church with Jesus Christ under the name of the Word. In the Bridegroom, we must see Christ, and the Church is the bride without sign of stain or age."[2] The last phrase, in particular, is obviously reminiscent of Ephesians 5:27.[3] By the fourth century, Jerome was talking of how

"Solomon, lover of peace and friend of the Lord, marries the Church to Christ and sings the sweet nuptial song."[4]

Such allegories were continued by Church Fathers such as Bede and Augustine. However, it was as a result of the Gregorian reforms of the eleventh century that they were to gain the popularity that they had achieved by Lambert's time.[5] By the second half of the twelfth century, the new Marian and humanist ideas were to make the Bride into the Virgin or the soul - the definitive explanation being given by St Bernard. In his commentary on the Song of Songs the Shulamite bride of the great love poem was equated with the Church. This commentary on the canticles was further elaborated with reference to Psalm 45 ("On the right of your throne stands the queen, wearing ornaments of finest gold.")

Although Lambert does show certain national and political ideals within the *Liber Floridus*, the message of religious images such as *Christ between the Church and Synagogue* (plate 1) remains uncluttered. Although the Church and Synagogue illustration became highly popular from the twelfth century onwards, it was not the only development of the Christ and Bride topic. The image of an embracing couple continued to be used in Song of Solomon initials throughout the century. Another common form showed Christ in majesty with the Bride by his side, for instance in the Song of Solomon page in the Bible of Saint-Vaast (plate 31). Here the basic layout is becoming reminiscent of the formal structure of Lambert's image. This was one of the most popular interpretations in England and North East France where the *Liber Floridus* has its origins.

Shortly before Lambert's time the Church's reputation and position had been weakened by both lay-controlled religion and an unholy clergy. The lay control of religion was condemned by Leo IX in 1049, who along with other reforming Popes in the next fifty years attempted to enhance the position of the Church. The Gregorian reforms had led to the Investiture Contest in the eleventh century, with its simplest basis in the dispute over whether the Church should support the secular lords, or whether the lay rulers should support the Church. The Church naturally believed in the latter, and Lambert appears to have followed this. In some representations of the Church and Synagogue topic,[6] secular powers are included in the allegory of triumph and defeat. In comparison to this, Lambert's image is purely theocentric, concentrating on the basic religious themes of the illustration.

The imagery of Ecclesia then was formed long before the twelfth century, and Lambert's version seems typical of extant iconography. He shows Ecclesia standing to the right of Christ and dressed in the usual medieval undertunic, worn unbelted as only virgins did.[7] Her banner is explained by Lambert as "made of the Cross of the Church", showing the link with Christ and the Crucifixion. and though not labelled, her chalice commonly signifies the New Testament.[8] It is held up to the side of Christ just as it is in Crucifixion images. This stresses the veracity of the power of the Eucharist and its direct link with Christ.

One principal effect of the changes throughout Western Christendom at this time was a growth of confidence in the Church. From the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-85) *Ecclesia*, 'the Church' came to be applied to the Roman Church as much as to the Occidental and Oriental churches together; that is to say that the Roman Church began to see itself as *the* true Church, worthy alone of that title.[9] Similarly, *Ecclesia* took on a further meaning. While *Christianitas*, 'Christendom', meant Christian society exclusive of the Church, *Ecclesia* came to mean all Christian society - Church and State - and in this way encompassed the Emperor's position within the Pope's.[10] No-one around this time would have thought in terms of Europe as a geographical entity, but only as Christendom as a more abstract concept.[11] Thus churchmen such as Lambert would truly have viewed the Church as encyclopedic, taking in everyone and everything, and being, far more than the Emperor, the one true force that united the different countries and peoples of the known world. The contents of the *Liber Floridus* were united by the topic of the Church and Lambert himself was within the Church, and so would see himself as a part of his whole subject.

Christian fellowship united everybody at this time - heresy was not a major issue until the end of the twelfth century and even then concerned only a small portion of Christendom. This Christian fellowship united everybody in the community: "a unified society with a common meaning for all its members still transcended by local difficulties."[12] The notable exception to this would have been the Jewish community. A

further intrinsic redefinition of the Church also occurred around the time of the Investiture Contest. Before 1050 the Church was called *Corpus Christi*, while the Body of Christ as a sacrament was referred to as *Corpus Mysticum*. After 1050 *Corpus Christi* was dropped in favour of *Corpus Mysticum* for referring to the Church itself. The sacramental body was now known as *Corpus Christi Verum*. This had a twofold effect; it re-emphasised the genuine physical presence of Christ within the Eucharist, not just as a symbol, and by utilising a phrase traditionally used for the sacrament it reiterated the Church's position of authority at the centre of Christianity.[13] Thus when Lambert uses the formula of Ecclesia holding the chalice to Christ's side (discussed above) he is making a direct threefold link between Christ, the Eucharist and the Church.

In the same way, a sense of continuity was felt back through time to the early days of Christianity. The Pope truly saw himself as the Vicar of Christ, part of the direct line from St Peter himself. In the same way, the Holy Roman Emperor (who until the end of the twelfth century also called himself the Vicar of Christ) saw himself as part of a grand continuation, not just from Charlemagne, but no different from the Caesars of classical times. It was a time when the Emperor had much potential to be a great leader and before most of the great schisms lost the Church and the Papacy much of their authority as sacred establishments. In the twelfth-century classical ideas were to be used as part of the literary and artistic equipment available to the intelligentsia.

The Crusades brought to the Church and Synagogue theme a verisimilitude more vivid than ever before. Before the Crusades, the Church and Synagogue theme had existed as a pure and abstract allegory for more than a thousand years. Now this religious idea was being confronted with contemporary events which could be seen as adulterating the abstract representation with new influences. These included a new consciousness of the Crucifixion setting and a new appreciation of the power of the Church - both as the clerical body that called the Crusade into being and the Christian people themselves who, with the taking of Jerusalem in 1099 achieved so much. The consciousness of the Crucifixion and the new awareness of Christianity also had a detrimental effect on attitudes towards Judaism.[14] This re-evaluation meant that the principles inherent in the Church and Synagogue theme achieved a clarity as a culmination of the earlier development. Lambert produces a clear and vivid version of *Christ between Church and Synagogue* and carefully explains all the ideas within the illustration. Just as God is shown in human form in Christ, so it was fitting that he was shown side by side with Ecclesia who represented a concrete and human form of the Church he created. The Church then symbolised the connection between Man and God, for the Church could be seen as being made up of humanity, Christ and the Holy Ghost,[15] and in this, Ecclesia provided a macrocosmic example of how a perfect Christian should be:

"It was proper that the Divine Being, the most universal and most personal of beings should be reflected in the Church. The Church must therefore have a character that is not only collective and universal, but also personal... She is united with the Son just as the Son is united with the Father: She is in the Father's hand just as She is in the hand of the Son her Bridegroom. This is the Mystery of Christ in the Church and the Church in Christ.... No-one loves Christ like the Church, just as Christ loves nothing as the Church."[16]

Ecclesia has almost always appeared associated with the Crucifixion,[17] but by the twelfth century, the iconography associated with Ecclesia was so established that basic changes could be introduced and Ecclesia was still very much recognisable. Lambert's unique depiction of her with Christ on the Mount of Olives would not necessarily have seemed confusing to a medieval viewer, even without Lambert's clear labelling. Thus Lambert's image, mixing as it does crucifixional and eschatalogical imagery (see below) manages to place this image out of time, giving it a timelessness suitable for a religious image. Here is an event happening outside history, and outside human experience - there are no mortal humans present in this picture. Instead, we are privileged to to view an incident that transcends mankind's existence:

"When the content of the art is religious, both spatiality and history are absent. The divinity lives immortally, in eternity, and the fact that only the time

experienced by God in this way is considered to have positive value entails a devaluation of the time that humanity experiences."[18]

Ecclesia is entrusted with the chalice, which usually contains Eucharistic wine. It should be remembered that no distinction was drawn between the bread and wine of communion after they were consecrated; despite their physical accidents, each was seen as both the Body and the Blood of Christ. Ecclesia then is holding the most valuable thing within the Christian world-view,[19] and this is emphasised by the reverential way in which she holds the cup. This is reminiscent of the various figures seen collecting the blood of Christ in crucifixion images.[20] The image of the woman with the chalice is reminiscent of the image of the Whore of Babylon, holding the cup of iniquity, shown by Lambert in the now missing Revelations cycle. Here the image of Ecclesia provides a direct contrast, and it should be remembered that Synagoga was also equated with Babylon (see below).

Thus the image of the Church personified as a crowned virgin, empowered with the attributes of salvation, namely the chalice and the banner of resurrection, could be seen to take a central place amid the rare images of women in the *Liber Floridus*.[21] Lambert has introduced the idea of a challenge, but it is not against the abstraction of the evils of the Babylonian city, rather the concrete symbol of the Jewish faith; rejected by the active gesture of Christ on the Mount of Olives.

Christ

There are three extant images of God in Lambert's autograph.[22] One shows God the Father is in the image of the *Dream of Nebuchadnezzar* (fol. 232v, plate 22), and the other two are of Christ. The first of these is the illustration of *Christ among the Elements* (fol. 88r) which shows a seated Christ in a mandorla. He holds a book in his right hand and in the centre of the mandorla is a circle containing an *agnus dei*, which also places its right foot on the book. In the middle of this folio is the *altare dei* and below it is a part-circle labelled '*abyssus*'. Virginia Tuttle argues convincingly that this is an image of an Apocalyptic Christ in triumph at the end of time, surrounded by texts and images to do with Creation, the passing of time, and the idea of eternity along with the creation of a New Heaven and Earth.[23]

In *Christ between Church and Synagogue*, (fol. 253v, plate 1) Christ naturally provides the crucial, central figure. He bears a cruciform halo and is shown unbearded and with long hair to his shoulders in a manner more reminiscent of early Christian images than of those contemporary to Lambert.[24] Because of the complex nature of the Church and Synagogue image, it can be seen that here Christ is shown in three guises at the same time. First, Jesus represents Christ the Man. He looks directly at the viewer in emotional communication. Thus, even if the viewer cannot fully comprehend God, they are able to consider Christ's sacrifice on human terms, and make their spiritual choice.

Secondly, with outstretched arms He suggests Christ crucified. Here, in reminding the viewer of the Crucifixion, He represents the reason for the Jews' damnation, the existence of the Church and the possibility of salvation.[25] Finally as Triumphant Victor, He represents the Revelationary Christ in judgement at the end of time. This is an eschatalogical image and should remind the reader that the end is near, and how penances and abundant alms are necessary if they are not to be sent to the Jaws of Hell like Synagoga. Ecclesia in recognising Christ effectively accepted him in all three aspects. The idea of Ecclesia accepting Christ of Last Days is particularly poignant, for the Jews, as Synagoga, will not recognise him. Instead they will surely be amongst those that are taken in by Antichrist's posturings and become servants of the Antichrist portrayed so succinctly by Lambert on fol. 62v (plate 11).[26] Antichrist was seen as a contradiction of the true Christ, and all his acts a parody (see chapter 4 below).

By the twelfth century the idea of the Crucifixion was central to the medieval world-view, for it was seen as the axis of time, the pivotal point at which the Old Testament gave way to the New. The position of the Crucifixion as the traditional centre of Lambert's *Church and Synagogue* image provides an excellent example of how crucial it could be as a symbol of the Christian faith:

"L'église est née à la crucifixion du côté du Christ mort, alors que la Synagogue était déchue de sa fonction historique pour avoir été incapable de reconnaître le Messie dans Jésus crucifié."[27]

Although Lambert's outstretched Christ is reminiscent of Crucifixion imagery, his avoidance of actually showing Christ on the Cross proves just how important his eschatological imagery was to him. If the Cross was absent from the image then the Church itself, personified in Ecclesia is shown to be theologically crucial, superseding the Cross as the ultimate religious symbol:

"She is rooted in the utmost depth of divine being. Before being born from the pierced side of our Lord on the Cross, she was eternally conceived in the world."[28]

Although the Crucifixion itself was no longer the necessary centre of the picture, Christ often still could be. This gave the picture a higher purpose. With Christ present it showed divine judgement rather than internecine squabble. His position in the illustration also stressed the religious side of the antisemitic content rather than allowing anti-judaism to be shown as a political enmity. In Lambert's illustration,

Christ is shown not involved in any historical or narrative event such as the crucifixion. Instead the image concentrates upon Christ as a vivid and incontrovertible image of just judgement. Lambert's image is similar to that of God, accepting and triumphant rather than punishing, on Suger's anagogical window.[29] This also keeps the cruciform pose outside crucifixion imagery and provides an excellent duality of symbolism:

"Christ as a king dispensing justice, his body and arms forming a cross, exalted above grief and pain, hatred and joy."[30]

It cannot be denied that either Suger knew the *Liber Floridus*, or that both his work and Lambert's share a common source. Christ's outstretched pose is certainly not unique to this field of Christian art, but it is nonetheless worth exploring the effects that this position creates. As well as being similar to the Crucifixion image this is reminiscent of representations of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes. Both these events can be seen as precursors of the Mass, the Eucharist, and fit well with the idea that Christ's attitude to Ecclesia emphasises the Church's role as transmitter of Grace from God to the people. The frontal pose means that Christ looks directly towards us, calm and slightly smiling, He seems aware of the viewer, giving the picture a feeling of more personal interaction. This sets Christ apart within the picture - a profile face is usually more involved in the scene, giving it more subjectivity - "part of the historic action and not an immobile transcendent figure with a distinct axis."[31] A

profile or three-quarter view (such as seen with Ecclesia and Synagoga) indents some features and sharpens others, so that much more characterisation may be shown. In contrast, Christ appears formal, more passive, timeless and steadfast, a "sacred, unconditioned being".[32]

Christ's central position makes him the focus of the picture and this is emphasised both in his personal symmetry and in the overall symmetry of the picture, with Ecclesia and Synagoga opposing each other, each with their associated attributes of crown and banner, and the font contrasting with the Jaws of Hell. This axial structure is also redolent of the liturgy,[33] giving the picture solemnity and a formal, ritualistic feel that a medieval viewer would recognise.

Although Christ's outline clearly shows him with outstretched arms, it is noticeable that the left hand is held at a lower level than the right. This is easily explained by comparing Lambert's image with one of the many extant images showing Christ seated and holding the scrolls of law. The arm that is sharply crooked to support the scrolls is at just the same angle.[34] Lambert has carefully adapted the other hand so it is placed against the face of Synagoga, rather than, as with Ecclesia, curled around the top of her head. This careful gesture (all the hands in this image are eloquently and delicately treated) is reminiscent of the section from Matthew 25:34-42, quoted in chapter 5 below, with its opposite phrasings of welcoming and dismissal. There are a number of similar aspects between the *Christ among the Elements* and Lambert's other Christ, in *Christ between Church and Synagogue*.

Most importantly, both show Christ triumphant at the end of time, and provide the reader with an image of at least part of the world to come. In this way they combine almost a devotional image of Christ (in each case he is clearly outlined in a traditional symmetrical pose, and gazes straight at the reader) with a surrounding selection of images and text which inform the reader of the power of Christ and provide the idea that Paradise awaits those who are faithful to Him.

Paradise

Lambert created three principal images of the Celestial city in the *Liber Floridus*. The first of these is *Paradise* (fol. 52r, plate 7), the second is *Heavenly Jerusalem* (fol. 65r, plate 13) and the third is the climactic illustration of Jerusalem in the Apocalypse, now no longer extant.[35] All these images show strong similarities, but the first two of these three images seem particularly related.[36] They provide a dual view of a city: its towers in profile against the skyline and also a view downwards within its encircling walls. This double viewpoint is also used by Lambert in his image of *St Peter in Rome* and appears to be a local stylistic tradition.[37] The similarity between the image of Paradise/Jerusalem and that of Rome suggests a triple linking in Lambert's mind. Just as terrestrial and celestial Jerusalem are linked, celestial Jerusalem was commonly seen in the Middle Ages as an analogy for the spiritual Church, which in itself had its earthly manifestation in the Catholic Church based upon Rome and St Peter.[38] Right at the beginning of the *Liber*

Floridus, (fol. 2v) Lambert implies an ideological link when computes the distance between Saint-Omer and Rome (discussed in chapter 1 above). Thus Lambert associates acceptance of the earthly Church in Rome with ultimate achievement of spiritual bliss in Paradise. Lambert's image of Saint-Omer itself is not dissimilar to Rome. Thus the individual's Church is linked to the greater Church, to the spiritual Church and ultimately to Paradise itself. Here we see a perfect example of the solid and clearly defined links that Lambert saw as the result of Christian faith, when even a man's most mundane surroundings provided a link with divinity. This is part of the vision that he attempts to reveal to his brethren. Seen in this context it is easy to see Lambert as a man for whom faith was a certainty, to be explained, perhaps, but without needing actual proof.

The allegories of Church and Synagogue also had their analogies with cities. Synagoga became Bethlehem and Ecclesia became Jerusalem, or Ecclesia as the New Jerusalem was set against Synagogue as the Old Jerusalem.[39] This reading was applied to chapter 14 of Zechariah in which the Lord is shown on the Mount of Olives dividing the good and bad of Jerusalem, just as Lambert's image of Christ, also placed on the Mount of Olives, makes the division between Ecclesia and Synagoga. The Mount of Olives is the sacred Mountain of Christian theology. It was the site of the Sermon on the Mount and the Transfiguration, and was prophesised be the place where the Antichrist dies.

The opposite fate to Synagoga's banishment in Hell would certainly be a place in Paradise, and yet Lambert's contrasting image to the mouth of the Inferno is not Paradise but a baptismal font. However there are strong links between the topic of baptism and eternal paradise. In Lambert's illustration of *Paradise*, the paradise tree has eight sections. The number eight was commonly associated with eternity, for after the traditional seven ages of man, Christians can look forward to an eighth; that of eternal life.[40] In his commentary on the Apocalypse Beatus explicitly states that the River of Life in Paradise symbolises both the Word of God and Baptism.[41] Eight was also associated with baptism. The vast majority of medieval baptismal fonts and the baptisteries in which they stood were eight-sided, making them a symbol of natural life gaining rebirth.[42] Lambert's *Beatitude Trees* (fols. 139v-140r, plates 15-16) which associate the blessings of the Church with the variety of natural growth, are also eight in number. In the pages following his illustration of *Celestial Jerusalem*, the sister image to *Paradise*, Lambert includes an explanation of Saint Augustine's theory of why the number eight symbolises eternity and ultimate perfection (fol 67r). Under the Old Law, eight had been associated with circumcision, commonly carried out on the eighth day after birth. Now, however, baptism took over the symbolism as well as the date of the circumcision rite.[43]

This number symbolism further emphasises the idea expressed by Beatus above, that baptism and Paradise were associated in the medieval mind. Rabanus Maurus stated explicitly that Paradise was a mystical symbol of the Church."[44] Thus triple lines of connection can be seen between baptism, Paradise and the abstract manifestation of the Church.

The Church

Virginia Tuttle identifies twelve images in the *Liber Floridus* which she claims are analogies for the Church.[45] Tuttle is anxious to prove a twelve-part structure for the *Liber Floridus*, and so concentrates on these twelve images, each of which she sees as central to one section of the manuscript. This means that in Tuttle's analysis of images representing the Church she amazingly neglects the two illustrations that Lambert has most clearly labelled '*ecclesia*'.

Tuttle claims that Lambert uses a circular motif as a point of resemblance between the twelve 'Church' images she identifies in the *Liber Floridus*. Lambert's use of circular motifs actually pervades the whole of the *Liber Floridus*. A great many of these motifs are to be found in the diagrams, but they also feature prominently in the figural illustrations. Approximately thirteen of the figural illustrations in the *Liber Floridus* could be said to include a circular motif. Whether the use of circles can be associated with ecclesiological images in particular may be a moot point,[46] but there is no doubt of Lambert's fondness for the circle, nor

that the circle was an accepted symbol of perfection, organised rhythm, and eternity and the reign of eternal majesty and of the Church.[47]

Of Tuttle's twelve images, the sixth (which Tuttle claims is at the centre of the twelve) is not a picture but what Tuttle calls a 'verbal image' (p.210) and the eighth is not one image but eight, spread across two sides of parchment. Images II, III and IX (*Paradise*, *Heavenly Jerusalem* and *Rome and St Peter*) are discussed in the section on *Paradise* (above). Images I and V (*sedes sapientiae* and *Christ among the four elements* are discussed in the section 'Christ'. Image VII (*Jerusalem and Sepulchre*) is not only missing from Lambert's autograph, it is also missing from the Wolfenbüttel copy (Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library, Ms. 1) and the best surviving copy is second generation, in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8865, fol. 133. It would be difficult to frame any coherent judgement upon this isolated and unusual image.
Of the remaining five illustrations, three deal with botanical images. These are IV (the *Palm-tree*, plate 14), VIII (the *Beatitude Trees*, plates 15-16) and XI (the *Lily*). If these three are combined with the second image, that of Paradise (plate 7), which contains the Paradise tree as its most principal feature, and the image of the *Tree of Virtues* (plate 19), which is not included among Tuttle's twelve, but which Lambert himself titled 'ecclesia', then a substantial body of botanical, ecclesiological images is built up. This sympathy with the ideas of growth and nature is a characteristic aspect of the twelfth-century renaissance.[48] There is no directly

botanical image in the *Liber Floridus* that is not connected with the Church.[49] The use of these images suggests an enthusiasm and confidence behind Lambert's vision of the Church, and that in equating the Church with the forces of nature he saw it as an essential part of man's life, live and powerful.

The eight Beatitude Trees which form Tuttle's eighth image differ from Lambert's other illustrations in that they are a number of separate images placed together to form a coherent composite. Lambert divides each of two facing folios simply into four and places within each a lively imaginative and basically symmetrical tree illustration. Each tree is surmounted by an inscription beginning "Voice of the Church:" and comparing the tree to a beatitude and virtue. Thus although this image is not directly labelled as 'ecclesia' it is obviously associated with the Church, and like the *Tree of Virtues* and the *Palm-tree* discussed below, it associates the power and variety of nature with the virtues and with the Church.

Of the three images that Lambert has actually labelled as 'ecclesia', one is naturally *Christ between Church and Synagogue*. This and the *Tree of Virtues* are both discussed in chapter 5 below. The third is the fourth of Tuttle's 'Church' images, the *Palm-tree*. Like the *Tree of Virtues*, this is labelled 'ecclesia' and it includes lists of virtues by the branches of the tree, and a list of vices away from the main body of the tree, in an obvious position of inferiority. The Palm-tree then is another triumphant image of the power and

victory of the Church. Below the spreading branches of the tree Lambert includes an inscription telling of the success of the First Crusade, including the participation of local heroes such as Godfrey of Bouillon.[50] There is an implication here, then, of the triumph of the power of the Church in at least three different ways: the growth and flourishing of the Palm-tree as a living symbol of God's power; the acceptance of virtues into the bosom of the Church, and the casting out of the vices; and the triumph of men such as Godfrey who do the work of the Church under God's protection.[51]

[1] J. Pepin, *Mythe et Allégorie* (Paris, Etudes augustiennes, 1958), p.264.
[2] See J.W. Trigg, *Origen, the Bible and Philosophy in the Third Century Church* (London, SCM Press, 1985) pp.52-5.
[3] The Revised Standard Version gives "...without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish."
[4] W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1982), p.199.
[5] See P.H. Brieger, 'Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform', *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1965), p.157.
[6] These include the *Ludus de Antichristo* discussed in the section "Antichrist" in chapter 4 below.
[7] J. Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952), p.6.
[8] L. Edwards, 'Some English Examples of Medieval representations of the Church and Synagogue', *Transactions of the Jewish Historic Society of England*, 18 (1933-5), p.65.
[9] The concepts and meanings of *ecclesia* in its myriad forms are explored in G. Ladner, *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages*, II (Rome, Selected Studies in History and Art, 1983), pp.436-456.
[10] G. Ladner, *Images and Ideas*, p.445-446.
[11] V.H.H. Green, *Medieval Civilisation and Western Europe* (London, Edward Arnold, 1991), p.2.
[12] E.M. Sandford, "Renaissance and Proto-Renaissance", *Speculum* 26 (1951), p.641.
[13] G. Ladner, *Images and Ideas*, p.447-9.
[14] See the section "The Jews" in chapter 4 below.
[15] H. Clerissac, *The Mystery of the Church* (New York 1937), p.40.
[16] H. Clerissac, *The Mystery of the Church*, pp.26-32 & 112.
[17] C. Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. W. McCuaig, (Princeton 1991), p.113.
[18] The one exception to this is a series of Carolingian images. These do not, however, combine an image of Ecclesia with eschatalogical significance, as Lambert was to do. See H. Toubert, *Un art dirigé: Réforme grégorienne et iconographie* (Paris, 1990), p.42.
[19] W.S. Seiferth, 'The Veil of the Synagogue', *Horizons of a Philosopher: Essays in Honour of D. Baumgardt* (Leiden, 1963), p.378.
[20] E.M. Zafran, *The Iconography of Antisemitism* (New York, 1973), p.240.
[21] The *sedes sapientiae* and the various images of women in the Revelations (the whore of Babylon, the woman clothed in the sun, etc) have been lost. All that remains, apart form Ecclesia and Synagoga, are the medallions of the personified Virtues (fol. 231v, plate 19).
[22] There once were a number of others. Later copies of the *Liber Floridus* include a *sedes sapientiae* of the Virgin holding the Christ child (plate 28). There were also a number of divine images in the missing Apocalypse cycle. In the Wolfenbüttel

copy of the *Liber Floridus*, the earliest and closest to Lambert's autograph, there are stylistic similarities between the *sedes sapientiae* and the Apocalypse cycle. These include the distinctive small wings of the angels, which appear to sprout not from the body but from the halo. It is known that Lambert's Apocalypse cycle was strongly influenced by a Spanish version (see H. Swarzenski, "Comments upon the Figural Illustrations", in A. Derolez (ed.), *Liber Floridus Colloquium; Papers read at the International Meeting held in the University Library, Ghent, on 3-5 September 1967* (Ghent, E. Story-Scientia, 1973, pp.28-29) and so these images cannot be guaranteed to provide a coherent view of Lambert's stylistic and iconographic ideals.

[23] Christ is shown surrounded by the four elements, which were to be purified and used to create the New Heaven and Earth. An 'annus' part-circle is placed between Christ's mandorla and the *altare dei*. Tuttle states that this is supposed to represent "the perpetual revolving motion" of time, and from this it is reasonable to assume that the shape is meant to be read as the full circle that it very nearly is, rather than a semi-circle as Tuttle claims. The Creation is represented by the texts on either side of Christ, and the abyss below represents the Faithful who will inhabit the New Heaven and Earth. All this is discussed by V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the Structure of the "Liber Floridus"* (PhD. thesis, Ohio State University, 1979), pp.162-169.

[24] For comparison see plate 33. Here not only is the hair and beard similar, but also the clothes and stance. This suggests not only that Lambert had access to a similar image, but also that he found it sufficiently evocative or impressive to let it influence him.

[25] To my knowledge, Lambert's picture is the first image of Christ between Church and Synagogue where Christ is *not* on the Cross.

[26] H. Liebeschütz, 'The Crusading Movement and its Bearing upon Christian Attitudes towards Jewry', *Journal of Jewish Social Studies*, 10 (1959), p.102.

[27] "The Church is born at the side of the dead Christ at the Crucifixion, just as the Synagogue is stripped of her historic function because of her inability to recognise the Messiah as the crucified Christ." H. Toubert, *Un art dirigé: Réforme grégorienne et iconographie* (Paris 1990), p.44.

[28] H. Clerissac, *The Mystery of the Church*, p.9

[29] W.S. Seiferth, *The Veil of the Synagogue*, p.387.

[30] W.S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, trans. L. Chadeayne and P. Gottwald, (New York 1970), p.104.

[31] M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: on the literal and the symbolic in the illustration of a text* (The Hague, Mouton, 1973), p.41.

[32] M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures*, p.33.

[33] An idea of the formal and ritualistic use of symmetry in a liturgical setting is shown in Lambert's image of the altar of his own church on fol. 259v. See also D. Bevington *et al.*, *Homo, Memento Finis: The Iconography of Just Judgement in*

Medieval Art and Drama (Kalamazoo, Michigan, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1985), p.48.

[34] For instance see plate 31. If the image were to be further compared with such a Christ holding the scrolls in his left hand the positioning of the upper torso is completely explained.

[35] The final pages of the Apocalypse cycle are also missing from the Wolfenbüttel copy of the *Liber Floridus* (Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library, Ms. 1), generally considered to be the earliest and closest extant copy. However the image still exists in the copy of the *Liber Floridus* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8865 - plate 27). Here we see Jerusalem as a completely flat, circular schema, most similar to Lambert's *Labyrinth* (plate 6) in the context of abstract design. The twelve apostles are shown in pairs between towers which are flanked above by twelve angels. This image fits perfectly with Lambert's common usage of circular, especially diagrammatic design, especially for ecclesiological topics. However, it would be dangerous to rely too much upon this image as an example of Lambert's ideals, due to the fact that most of Lambert's Apocalypse cycle seems to be directly derived from an earlier Spanish Apocalypse. See H. Swarzenski, *Figural Illustrations*, pp.28-29.
Lambert also included an image of *Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre* (no longer extant in Lambert's autograph but available as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat 8865, fol. 133). The map of Jerusalem is a schematic of the earthly city, rather than *Celestial Jerusalem* discussed here.

[36] Frugoni claims that the image of Jerusalem is derived from that of Paradise. See C. Frugoni, *A Distant City* p.13.

[37] Swarzenski compares these images to one created in neighbouring Saint-Bertin at the start of the eleventh century. This was produced by that abbey's influential Abbot Odbert whose style form the centre of their own scriptorium style. See H. Swarzenski, *Figural Illustrations*, p.25-6.

[38] These ideas gained their greatest commentary in St Augustine's *Civitate Dei*.

[39] C. Frugoni, *A Distant City*, p.15.

[40] Another example of the eternal properties of the number eight were seen in the fact that music was organised around an endless series of eight notes; the octave. The principles behind medieval numerology are explained in many standard works on iconography. See, for instance J. Baldock, *The Elements of Christian Symbolism* (Shaftesbury, Element, 1990), pp.128ff.

[41] "*ex utraque parte fluminis, vel duo duo testamenta legis et evangelii intellege, vel undam baptismi*" see Henry A. Sanders, *Transcription of the Latin text of Beato, 'Beati in Apocalipsin Libri Duodecim'*, II, (Madrid 1975), p.431.

[42] For a discussion on the renaissant powers of baptism, see the section 'The Jaws of Hell and the Baptismal Font' below, chapter 5.

[43] See St Ambrose, *In Psalmarum David*, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 15 col. 1262-8.

[44] "*Paradisus, id est hortus deliciarum mystice... Ecclesiam praesentem significat.*" Rabanus Maurus, "*De Universo*", in

Migne, *Patrologa Latina*, 111, p.334.

[45] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus", passim*:

I *Sedes Sapientiae* (no longer extant - plate 28)
II *Paradise* (fol. 52r - plate 7)
III *The Heavenly Jerusalem* (fol. 65r - plate 13)
IV *Palm-tree* (fol. 76v - plate 14)
V *Christ among the four elements* (fol. 88r)
VI *Cantus ecclesiae* (fols. 99v-100r)
VII *Jerusalem and Sepulchre* (no longer extant)
VIII *Beatitude Trees* (fols. 139v-140r plates 15-16)
IX *Rome and St Peter* (fol. 168r - plate 17)
X *Noah's Ark* (fol. 208v - plate 18)
XI *Lily* (fol. 230v)
XII *The church of Saint-Omer* (fol. 259v)

This principal link with Ecclesia is disputed in other works. Penelope Mayo ("The Crusaders under the Palm", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27 (1973), pp.40-7), links the illustration of the Palm almost solely with the First Crusade. Her reading depends upon an association of the image with seven battles for Jerusalem. However, as Lambert only mentions two of these battles, and then in different contexts, this interesting but ambitious theory falls down. Lottlisa Behling, in "Ecclesia als Arbor Bona. Zum Sinngehalt einiger Pflanzendarstellungen des 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 13 (1959), links both the *Palm-Tree* and the *Tree of Virtues* with the Virgin as well as Ecclesia. The *Liber Floridus* did originally contain an image of the Virgin and Child (the *sedes sapientiae* no longer extant). However it seems unlikely that Lambert would have indulged in Marian imagery so early, and with so little sign of it elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus*, especially when considering how clearly he makes connections with Ecclesia.

[46] It is difficult to judge the precise numbers and styles of illustrations in the *Liber Floridus*, due to the many missing folios. However, just less than half (thirteen) of the thirty figural illustrations contain some form of circular motif. Of these maybe half are Church images. The *palm-tree* (fol. 76v) has a circle at the base of its trunk from which radiates an approximate semi-circle of branches. *Noah's Ark* (fol. 208v) is a short, high ship. Tuttle claims that Lambert "greatly exaggerated" the curve of the boat to make it resemble the circular Ecclesia images. (V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.282-3). While this may be true, it is difficult to imagine how else Lambert would have fitted the ark onto the page.

[47] Medieval appreciation for geometric shapes, and what symbolism they were given is discussed in R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942). See especially p.9.

[48] The principles of the twelfth-century renaissance are explored with clarity in G. Ladner, 'Terms and Ideas of Renewal in the Twelfth Century', *Images and Ideas*, pp.687-725.

[49] The one possible exception to this is the tree within the narrative image of the *Dream of Nebuchadnezzar* (fol. 232v).

This tree is not barren like Lambert's only 'bad' tree, the *tree of vices* (fol 232r) but bursting with life and vitality. According to the story in Daniel 4:10-37 the tree represents Nebuchadnezzar's power, which is taken from him by God until Nebuchadnezzar recognises God's supremacy, when his power is returned to him. Thus the tree is not inherently evil, but is used by God to show His power, and reveal his ability to make things reborn. This is similar to the story of Job, also used by Lambert (in the bestiary cycle culminating in *Antichrist Riding Leviathan* (fol. 62v)) which explores God's supreme power. Thus although the Nebuchadnezzar tree may not be a direct symbol of the Church, it is, like the Church, a symbol of the manifestation of God's power on earth.

[50] Discussed in the section "The Jews" in chapter 5 below.

[51] This is obviously a complicated picture and many more complicated analyses and conclusions can be placed upon it. See, for instance, P. Mayo, *Crusaders under the Palm*, *passim*, which uses the *Palm-tree* as a central images for an analysis of the *Liber Floridus* as a Crusading-oriented document A. Derolez, *Lambertus qui Librum fecit: een codicologische studie van der Liber Floridus-autograaf (Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek handschrift 92)* (Brussels, Paleis der Academiën, 1978), p.472, suggests that the vices and virtues were added to the *Palm-tree* illustration by Lambert sometime after he created the original manuscript. Derolez believe that this was because Lambert became more interested in religious ideas during the creation of the *Liber Floridus*, and revised the existing sections accordingly.

Challenge and Denial

Lambert's spiritual choice is put before his reader in the form of a direct visual contrast, a portrayal of ideological opposition throughout the illustrations of the *Liber Floridus*. The images that fulfill the negative role in the choice are explored in this chapter, along with the methods used by Lambert to suggest that the topics of these images of challenge are inherently flawed. The first section deals with an exploration of medieval Jewry and in particular Lambert's understanding, attitude and portrayal of it. The second section explores the personification of Synagoga. The third section looks at Lambert's unprecedented image of Antichrist, while the fourth and final section deals with the symbolism utilised by Lambert which was attached to the image of the Minotaur in the Labyrinth.

The Jews

Early medieval feelings about anti-judaism naturally depended upon how the Jew was viewed at the time:

"The Jew ...was never considered as a merely contemporary individual; the idea that he represented the people who had forfeited their Biblical vocation was never far away."[1]

One theory held that after the fall, the Devil had rights over Man; he 'belonged' to the Devil, who had a claim to every human being. Jesus, through the Immaculate Conception and the Annunciation was a man that the Devil could not claim or corrupt. Therefore the Devil made the Jews kill Jesus, who could not otherwise die. By doing this the Devil forfeited his rights to Man. This theory shows the Jews as a necessary evil - but only justifies their existence at the time of the Crucifixion. While Jews from before the time of Christ are forgiven - they went to Abraham's Bosom in Sheol - after Christ's death those who were not baptised went straight to Hell, even the good Jews, for there was now no excuse for them if they continued to deny Christ. This theory was popular around the time of the First Crusade and in Lambert's era. The theory that the Jews and their offspring were to be held responsible for the Crucifixion was recorded as far back as Matthew 27:25, "His blood be on us and our children". This theory gained further prominence in the early twelfth century, which also saw a revival of interest in older, patristic literature.[2] Attention was given to great authorities such as Jerome who showed strong antisemitic feeling in their writings.

The renewal of interest in Classical texts offered new methods of argument in the form of dialectics, which could be applied to the theological issues in order to demonstrate theological truth:

"Dialectics might offer new arguments for the truth of the faith. This discovery introduced a new element of inquiry into the intellectual atmosphere, which developed into a characteristic aspect of twelfth-century thought."[3]

The use of dialectics would be appreciated by even the lowliest medieval scholar, for they constituted one third of the *trivium*, the core of learning in the middle ages. Dialectics were best known in medieval times through some of the works of Plato, whose influence can be seen elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus*.[4] The dialectic method compared two opposing views and, highlighting the weaknesses of one view, proved it to be incorrect. Dialectics made a suitable debating tool because of their sense of duality. This is precisely the method used by Lambert in his imagery. This led to the use of *disputatio*, the (not necessarily antagonistic) confrontation of Christian and Jew that added a form of dissemination to the Ecclesia and Synagoga theme. Gilbert Crispin, a pupil of possibly the greatest eleventh-century theologian, St Anselm, used his master's ideas in the *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani* and the *Disputatio Christiani cum Gentili*, written between 1085 and 1117, almost the same time as the *Liber Floridus*. Some of Crispin's *disputatio* works were included by Lambert in the *Liber Floridus*.[5] Lambert did not copy these works from any traditional encyclopedic canon, but made an bold and individual decision to include them.

Anselm's theme was the Incarnational idea that through Christ, redemption is open to all. Although it was not immediately accepted, by the first decades of the twelfth century, the impact of Incarnational theology, that Salvation was open to all, through the sacrifice of Christ, gradually gained authority. This may have had an optimistic effect within Christianity, but it could make the Jews' sin seem even more heinous. If salvation was after all open to them (and indeed Lambert claims that some would be saved),[6] then the continued denial of the rest was stubborn indeed. Thus within the strong symmetry of Lambert's *Church and Synagogue* illustration we see Lambert's image of the consequences of such acceptance and denial. Synagoga's fate is not pre-determined, but is a result of her stubborn choice of refusal.

At the start of the twelfth century, the Jews were a small and relatively new part of French society. Lambert's principal information about the Jews must have come purely from the Bible and other writings rather than direct contact with the Jewish people. The *Cur Deus Homo* of St Anselm, which deals with Incarnational theology, and thus in part the Jewish question, was included in a summary by Lambert in the *Liber Floridus* (fol. 144v-152r), even though it had only been written about ten years previously. This shows that Lambert was both up to date with contemporary attitudes to anti-Semitism, and emphasises the fact that Lambert's choice of material for the *Liber Floridus* was a coherent choice. Lambert may have

recognised the calibre of what was to become Anselm's classic work, although few critiques could have been written by that time (in fact Lambert had to make up his own summary).[7] Lambert's own towering faith pervades the *Liber Floridus* and affects his attitude towards the Jews, whom he saw as people who denied his God despite all the contrary evidence. This meant that he was one of those who saw the Jews as:

"the nation which, by its own decision, had forfeited salvation and which as individuals continued to refuse to withdraw from that obstinate refusal."[8]

Thus the Jews were not just wrong according to Lambert's outlook; their refusal to make the right choice made them apostates, and the opposite of everything that Lambert wished to promote. Lambert shows his disapproval of the Jews through a huge range of texts and images right through the manuscript. In the first few pages of the *Liber Floridus* (fols. 5r-6r) Lambert includes three debates between Christians and Jews.[9] According to Lambert's index there is also a missing chapter on the heresies of the Jews towards the end of the manuscript, around fol. 260. Up to the events in the New Testament, when the Jews "forfeited their Biblical vocation",[10] they had been noble and heroic. It was this denial of Christ, more than anything, which changed them into the people Lambert so despised. Within the *Liber Floridus* he included incidents that provided both the Jews' punishment as well as the forfeiture of their position. For instance, on fol. 81r he describes the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and his army, where he claims that all the surviving male Jews were castrated

and thus all Jews after this were not descended from Adam. It is noticeable that Lambert does not resort to the charge that the Jews knowingly murdered Christ as did so many others, including Lambert's favourite, Rabanus Maurus.[11] In Lambert's *Christ between the Church and the Synagogue* it is for refusing to recognise Christ's divinity that Synagoga is condemned to hell. According to Lambert there is no more damning crime for it cuts to the belief that lies at the centre of the *Liber Floridus* - that man must make the correct choice and recognise Christ.

The Church's official position at this time was that the Jews must not be wiped out, but allowed to see the error of their ways at the end of time. This was expressed in the thirteenth century by the Dominican Minister General Humbert:

"They must be tolerated because there is hope that they may be converted, just as one does not immediately cut down a tree from which there is still hope of fruit."[12]

This is a telling metaphor, for on Lambert's *Tree of Vices* (fol. 232r, plate 20), which is sub-labelled 'sinagoga', axes have already been set to the roots.[13] Lambert therefore reveals his feeling that there was no hope for the conversion of the Jews.

Lambert includes within the *Liber Floridus* a statement from Isidore of Seville saying that it is impossible to predict the exact date of the end of the world,[14] and although it was thought dangerous anyway for man to speculate on the precise date of the end of the world,[15] this did not stop people (including Lambert) from considering eschatology in a more

general sense.[16] The closest that Lambert comes to naming the date of the of the world is in his inclusion of texts such as the *Epistola Methodii de Antichristo* (fols. 108r-110r) which stated that Antichrist would appear after the descendent of a great emperor (interpreted as Charlemagne) became ruler of Jerusalem. This was commonly taken in Lambert's time to mean that Antichrist would appear after the Crusade. Guibert of Nogent's version of Urban's justification for the deaths that the Crusaders would cause centred around II Thessalonians 2:4: ("the son of perdition...takes his seat in the temple of God"). This was interpreted to mean that Antichrist would come to Jerusalem and the Orient and, as his name implies, fight Christians there. Consequently for this to happen Jerusalem and the Orient must be held by Christians and the Jews and infidels removed.[17] Such anti-semitic actions would hurry the second coming and were therefore highly laudable.

Such sentiments were close to the heart of Lambert. In his history of the Sixth Age (the time between Christ's birth and Lambert's own time) he states that there are conclusive signs that the end of this world is coming and that the reign of Antichrist is imminent (fol. 136v-139r). Penelope Mayo has made a thought-provoking case for Lambert's over-riding interest in the Crusades.[18] Indeed it is hard to imagine that Lambert's Church and Synagogue image cannot but have been affected by the wave of religious euphoria and anti-semitic feeling that washed over Europe from 1096 and was so potent in its effect.[19] The fact that the Crucifixion of Christ had

happened 1100 years ago did not subdue the attitudes of Lambert's contemporaries. In the middle ages the code of vengeance was such that it was only considered worth while if the injury was still present. For instance, vengeance against the Moslems was acceptable because they still held Jerusalem. To men such as Godfrey of Bouillon and to Lambert himself, the Jews were still denying Christ, and therefore deserved punishment just as much as the Jews contemporary with Christ himself. Lambert's text beside the figure of Synagoga states quite specifically "Synagoga denies Christ, the Son of God". This belief in a continued guilt was a strong motive behind the anti-semitic attacks that occurred in France and Germany after the proclamation of the First Crusade.

The crusading movement of Lambert's time depended upon an affiliation of the Church (in particular the Papacy) and the military powers of Europe for its organisation and ultimately for its success. These ideas had first gained prominence under Gregory VII in the eleventh century.[20] The resurrection of these ideas that secular and ecclesiastical powers could work together towards the same spiritual goal was resurrected by Gregory's disciple Urban II (1088-1099). This direct contact between Church and warrior class remained intact through the First Crusade, and was an influence on the way that Crusading soldiers were seen by contemporaries. They were as much holy men as were monks and priests, or even greater. Contemporary accounts and chronicles made comparisons between contemporary forces and fighting heroes of the Old Testament.[21] In this way the grandeur and purpose of the scriptural stories was carried

on into the present day. Along with this, the international enthusiasm created by the Crusades meant that there was a repenetration of everyday life with ecclesiastical doctrine, a feeling of Christian solidarity and an awareness of the potential power of its mobilisation. This is the sort of confidence which pervades Lambert's *Liber Floridus*. He is filled with a spiritual surety, and feels confident in his ability to influence others to move along the same theological path. In this sort of atmosphere the Jews must have stood out prominently, and their position in society would be difficult.

For those that went on Crusade, the atmosphere of personal piety was enhanced by the intense effects that actual contact with the holy places must have had. It is hard now to imagine, in this time of fast and easy travel and graphic and visual communication methods, how influential this must have been.[22]

Such a knight, reassured of the link between himself and salvation, was Lambert's hero Godfrey of Bouillon,[23] who was one of those who happily considered Jewish massacre as part of their holy journey and duty. This view was particularly prevalent in the western areas of Christendom. In this time of intensely exciting religious feeling miracles abounded and these were seen as proof of divine approbation for the Crusaders' actions, including the massacres. Godfrey of Bouillon's own chaplain, a man called Baldwin, bore a mark on his forehead that was said to have placed there by an angel.[24] Godfrey may have been admired by Lambert as a local hero, but the *Liber Floridus* is certainly not a piece of propaganda on

his behalf; Lambert does not show any wish for demagogic fame, nor would his work would have been of use or interest to the popular movement.

Although the most well known Jewish massacres of 1096 occurred in the Rhineland, such pogroms did happen in France, and Lambert would certainly have known about them, for they had a great effect upon medieval Judaism. Indeed, the time before the Crusades was one of comparative growth and prosperity for the Jewish community but from the time of the First Crusade all that was turned about.[25] The antisemitic reactions at that time had, more than any of the future Jewish expulsions, the greatest impact upon medieval Jewry:

"like a severely debilitating disease which even when cured leaves its tell tale scars upon the body of the patient, the First Crusade struck deep into the spirit of Jewry, leaving irremedial fear and anxiety, a sense of insecurity and desolation."[26]

The Jewish position would never regain the security it had enjoyed before 1096, for even the anti-semitic massacres were seen as the fault of the Jews. Christian writers were naturally more sympathetic to their own faith in their analysis of precisely why the Jewish massacres happened.

Godfrey de Bouillon had claimed that part of his mission involved Jewish annihilation. He was only persuaded to take a more moderate view by Emperor Henry IV.[27] Although anti-judaic feeling was widespread in itself it was not considered a major problem. However, popular movements against the Jews and those led by demagogic figures such as Godfrey de

Bouillon were more difficult to control. As a general rule, Jewish massacres were the result of these popular uprisings and "after 1096 and through most of the twelfth century, most ecclesiastical and secular authorities were more concerned to check than to develop popular Anti-Judaic feeling."[28] Lambert's attitude was academic rather than popularist.

Lambert's attitude to the Jews, or rather to Judaism in theory, can be seen as an individual and theological interpretation of a contemporary and often popularist feeling that the continued continuity opened the way for the Antichrist. This theological understanding found visual expression in the image of Synagoga as a personification of the Jewish faith.

Synagoga

The idea of a personification to represent the Synagogue has its origins in early Christianity.[29] This was a written analogy however; creating an image to represent Jewry as a diametric opposite to Ecclesia was a somewhat difficult matter:

"Few Christians would have any notion of Jewish religious rites or even the furnishings of a synagogue: indeed, there were regulations that expressly forbade Christians to enter."[30]

Synagoga is designed as an image for those who could not grasp the theological and intellectual arguments against Judaism. She was created as an antithesis to the already existing Ecclesia, who represented the 'true' Christian

doctrine. Ecclesia is shown wearing the crown of faith. She is holding her traditional attributes of banner and chalice, and the hand holding the chalice is reverentially covered. Synagoga, by contrast, holds nothing in her right hand, which is "empty to express her dismay."[31] Her left hand may at first appearance seem empty; it actually contains a faintly drawn, but doubly broken, banner, an eloquent contrast to the banner of resurrection held by Ecclesia. Synagoga's crown hovers in the air by Christ's shoulder. Virginia Tuttle claims that the crown has fallen off Synagoga's head and that Synagoga herself is "falling" into the mouth of hell. However, unlike the banner, the crown shows no impression of falling or movement. Lambert's text suggests that the crown has been physically taken from her. He uses the word '*deposita*', which suggests a deliberate rather than accidental event. Tuttle's interpretation would make Synagoga's fate seem almost accidental. A more reading of Lambert's image, however, shows that Synagoga's fate is pre-destined, and is consciously expedited by the resurrected Christ.

The development of the imagery of Synagoga in the direction of Lambert's interpretation can be seen in the ninth and tenth century ivory carvings from Metz (Victoria and Albert, No 250.67 (ninth century), Musée de Metz (Ca. 1000), Codex Latus, Bibl. Nat. (Ca. 900). Here, also, Synagoga occurs as the natural complement to Ecclesia. In scenes containing, Mary, John, Longinus, Stephaton and many other figures witnessing Christ's death, only Synagoga is shown refusing to

recognise the Saviour. This blindness of Synagoga, her denial of the truth was to become a potent metaphor.

Lambert's Synagoga is dressed in a seemingly simple costume and wears some type of cowl or hood. This could possibly be a Spanish influence.[32] Lambert's work shows other connections with Hispanic art, for instance his Revelations cycle may have been of Spanish origin. The influence of the work of the Spanish monk Beatus are discussed in "The *Liber Floridus* as a Twelfth-Century Encyclopedia" in chapter 2 above. In the twelfth century Jews and Christians would have dressed more or less alike. Characteristic distinctions in dress were imposed only after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. In the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of the early thirteenth century a convert from Judaism to Christianity asks:

"How is it that Jews and Christians have a different name, since they speak the same language and are dressed the same way?" [33]

In common with the practice in medieval art, Ecclesia and Synagoga are dressed in basically contemporary clothes, despite the fact that they were not actually people of the twelfth century. This did not prevent artists such as Lambert from using clothes to differentiate characteristics. Extremes of contemporary fashion were frowned upon by the Church and so only "sinners and seductresses" were shown in fashionable garb - a more mainstream appearance was used for everyone else. Ecclesia's robe is an attempt at a mostly classical form of dress, evolved eventually from images such as the Loaves and

Fishes mosaic in Ravenna (plate 33).[34] In contrast, Synagoga's dress is more contemporary and can be seen as subject to the:

"lengthening which can... be identified as a general characteristic of twelfth-century dress. This applies in particular to the ends of the veil and the long pendant cuffs of their gowns."[35]

The central section of Synagoga's veil appears to reach right down to her knees and her long, dark bordered cuffs provide a strong contrast to Ecclesia's classically draped arms. If Synagoga's dress is compared with that of other extant figures in the *Liber Floridus*, the contrast becomes even more striking. Most sleeves have either simple openings (such as those on the plain, one-piece robe worn by Lambert in his self-portrait) or are tight at the wrist. It is noticeable that the only other figure shown with the affectation of lengthened cuffs is Synagoga's 'master', Antichrist. Synagoga is shown with her head completely covered in a form of headdress, with only her face revealed. Christ has his left hand against this, but his gesture is ambiguous. He could be pushing Synagoga away, but he looks more as if he is pulling aside the veiling cloth (plate 2). The idea that Synagoga is veiled comes from II Corinthians 3;14: "But their minds were hardened: for to this day...that same veil remains unlifted, because only through Christ is it taken away." The veil is usually accepted as first appearing in the Sugerius window of Saint-Denis (plate 34),[36] while the blindfold (discussed below) only appeared around the middle of the twelfth century and was an important sign in

the change of the eschatological attitude towards the subject.

Lambert's image is certainly involved with divine judgement, but it is not about divine mercy. The crucial difference between a veil and a blindfold is that a blindfold could suggest that Synagoga's blindness has been forced upon her. The wearing of a veil is voluntary, and so suggests that if Synagoga cannot see, it is because she refuses to see. When Christ removes that veil in Lambert's image, her excuse for denial is taken away, but she still refuses to accept Christ, for she is still sent to Hell. Christ's personal involvement in this image, actively removing the veil from Synagoga's face, rather than merely allowing it to fall, is a telling detail:

"The implication of a mounting antagonism towards Jews and Judaism in real life comes through in the form of violent acts being more and more applied directly to the person of Synagoga in works of art. Even Christ, otherwise so passive and aloof, began to be made the agent of some angry outburst, like tearing the veil from Synagoga's eyes, seizing the Book of Law out of her hands, or pushing her roughly away. Often an angel took the part of Christ in these indelicate roles.[37]

In Lambert's image it is certainly Christ who is taking the action, showing that the downfall of the Jews had holy sanction. However his action is carried out calmly and implacably. Lambert's Christ is not angry, he is a judge, and his action is the due carrying out of a fair punishment. If the Church and Synagogue theme had relatively amicable roots,

it cannot be denied that the representations intensified as Christian and Jewish relationships changed.

Kraus states that the more intimate nature of manuscript illumination encourages more candid portrayals of anti-semitic feeling than tended to occur in the more 'public' fields of art, such as sculpture.[38] Lambert's manuscript illustration of Christ certainly seems involved in what might be categorised as a particularly 'indelicate role'. Although there is little sense of movement, Christ's gesture can be interpreted just as much as pushing Synagoga away as unveiling her. Certainly she seems to be moving unwilling and implacably towards the mouth of the inferno, and the inscription states that she is 'rushed' or 'hurried' towards Hell ("...*ad infernum properans*"). Virginia Tuttle states that Synagoga is "falling" into the hell-mouth even though the text states the contrary.[39] This ignores the fact that Lambert's Christ is certainly present and active in her movement towards Hell. He stares straight at the viewer while Synagoga leaves, and his gesture is highlighted all the more by the delicate way he rewards Ecclesia with her crown. Lambert then was not ashamed by the statement his picture made, and was happy to portray it as God's definite will.

The image of Christ between the Church and Synagogue is not the only anti-judaic item in this part of the *Liber Floridus*. Approximately ten pages before the Church and Synagogue image, Lambert has painted a cross on a yellow ground painted over the text (fol. 242r, plate 23). Swarzenski suggests that this provides a frontispiece to the work that

follows.[40] As the work that follows is anti-judaic - "*Isidorus Florentine Sorori Contra Iudeos de Christo*" - Tuttle suggests that this cross, superimposed over a background of a yellow colour traditionally associated with the Jews, could represent the Church's triumph over Judaism.[41] This may be speculative, but what is certain is that Isidore's writing against the Jews, combined with the cross, which is a triumphal symbol of Christianity whatever else, combine to prefix Lambert's Church and Synagogue illustration with a sense of the coherent and pervasive triumph of Christian belief against Judaism. Lambert's condemnation of Synagogue is complete but at the same time selective. Although he treats her more forcefully than many did, it is with less condemnation. For Lambert, her denial of Christ the Son of God was enough to merit her punishment. He only hints at the image of a crucified Christ and in no way appears to blame Synagoga of that murder.

In the *Liber Floridus* Synagoga is not so much shown as a personification of the murderers of Christ but as - subtle difference - someone who has ignored the message of God placed before them. In this way Lambert is demonstrating the archetypical apostasy of the Jews. Previous to Lambert's work, Synagogue was traditionally shown in consternation, fear, ignorance and stubbornness, but she is usually still proud. Few show her as vanquished as Lambert does.

During the earlier Middle Ages from the apocalyptic commentaries of writers like Beatus, Rupert of Deutz and Honorius, the imagery of the Jews came to be associated with the followers of Antichrist, the final persecutor of the people of God.

Antichrist

Antichrist himself appears in the arresting image on fol. 62v (plate 11) and his association with the Jews is made explicit by the inscription incorporated in the pictorial field. In the text included within the curl of Leviathan's tail, Lambert states the action of the Jews after God has killed Antichrist:

"Then the 144,000 Jews will turn to the Lord from all of the tribes of the sons of Israel."[42]

Both *Antichrist riding Leviathan* and *Christ between the Church and Synagogue*, are used by Lambert of Saint-Omer to explore links between evil, the Jews and the end of the world. Even without any further information, this would open the Antichrist illustration for consideration alongside that of the Church and Synagogue, but the connections between the two can be seen as much more complex.

Antichrist is first ever mentioned by name in the Epistles of John.[43] But his origins are generally traced to the book of Daniel, where Daniel has visions of "a new king... brazen faced, a master of riddles... in his pride he will think himself a match for any God... he sets up his royal pavilion betwixt sea and sea on yonder noble hill, yonder sacred

hill... and no human hand shall it be that crushes him down at last."[44]

This section of Daniel was considered by Christians to be a prophecy of someone who would be a direct opposition to Christ. Just as Christ was the son of God, so this 'Anti-Christ' would be the 'son of perdition', that is, the son of Satan. The *Essay on Antichrist* by Abbot Adso, written in the tenth century for Queen Gerberga of France was a summary of the lore pertaining to Antichrist by that time. For the first time, it set out the information as a continuous narrative, much like the life of a saint, rather than as an extrapolation of Biblical texts.[45]

This gave a greater feeling that the Antichrist was a real person as well as making it eminently readable. Adso's work was used a principal source on the subject for the rest of the Middle Ages. It may also have been Lambert's source for the text within Antichrist's tail. Although Lambert's account is condensed to around sixty Latin words, he keeps the basic details of Adso's account.[46]

Lambert includes within the *Liber Floridus* (although not in the same place as this illustration) a summary of Methodius' letter about Antichrist (fol. 108v-110r). This tells how imperial power is moving westward and that as it has passed from the Greeks to the Romans and the Romans to the Franks, and that a Frankish king will go to Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives and set up rule. This would all happen shortly before the coming of Antichrist.

There is little doubt that some of Lambert's interest in the First Crusade a because he saw fulfilled in it these prophesised events. Immediately after what he calls the *Epistola Methodii de Antichristo* (fols. 108r-110r) Lambert begins his lengthy history of the First Crusade (*Gesta Francorum Hierusalem Expugnatium que Folcherus Carnotensis Sancto Dictante spiritu Dictauit* (fols. 110r-128r). This appears to be a direct association with the prophecies surrounding the coming of Antichrist being equated with the events of the First Crusade. Lambert believed that the Last Days were imminent, and his warnings to his brothers to be prepared for the coming of Antichrist have a particular importance in the *Liber Floridus*.[47]

As distinct from the textual references, Lambert's illustration seems to have a more complex history. There were no descriptions of Antichrist's physical appearance being humanoid before the spread of Beatus' Commentary on the Apocalypse from the tenth century onward.[48] Lambert's Antichrist is distinctly human in appearance and, as indicated, the influences of the Beatus text can clearly be seen elsewhere in Lambert's work.

Although verbal accounts often continue with grotesque and monstrous descriptions, illustrations of Antichrist become more human around the time of Lambert's work.[49]
By the time of Lambert's illustration he is shown as a handsome, perfectly proportioned man, sitting in a traditional pose. A number of points however are worth noticing. There are links between Antichrist and the image of the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar was associated with

the Antichrist in some versions of the *Beatus Apocalypse*, and Tuttle elaborates this by claiming that as a result the dream tree in the image can be seen as a symbol of Antichrist as well as of Nebuchadnezzar himself.[49] Antichrist's crown is similar to that worn by Nebuchadnezzar and it also crown has tiny horns sprouting from either side. These are easily equated with the massive horns on the headdress worn by the Devil in plate 10. The devil's head is in profile, but his headdress has been shown frontally so that this emphasis is not lost. These horns were traditionally associated with both the devil and the Jews.[50] Thus the small size of the horns on Antichrist's headdress can be seen as a suggestion of his links with the Jewish people as well as, because of their unobtrusive size, proof of Antichrist's power to deceive. Similarly, Antichrist was a teacher of false doctrine and his simple gown makes him look rather like Christ in the Church and Synagogue image. Elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus* Lambert warns that Satan can disguise himself in order to fool victims and quotes II Corinthians 11:14 on the subject: "...even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light."

Horns became associated with heretics and bad Christians in a similar fashion to their association with the Devil, to show how the Devil can be found in human guise. If this were not sufficient, Leviathan was commonly seen to be Satan,[51] and thus Lambert's Antichrist is shown to be supported by the devil. It would be difficult to show how much placing the horns on a headdress was an original idea by Lambert, or one that was copied from another source, but

other characteristics suggest Lambert is drawing at least some details from another canon. The body and articulation of Lambert's Leviathan is similar to that in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrade of Landsburg,[52] suggesting they have a common provenance. Lambert however gives his Leviathan a huge curling tail, and sits Antichrist on the tail, not the body of Leviathan. Indeed, in commentaries on the Apocalypse Antichrist was associated with the tail of the dragon.[53]

The monster Leviathan is described in Job 41, and the description given by Lambert below the illustration comes from that source.[54] In Job, Leviathan comes at the end of a catalogue of animals and is immediately preceded by Behemoth. Lambert follows this order by placing the image of Antichrist riding Leviathan (fol. 62v, plate 11) at the end of a bestiary series (fols. 56v-62v) and directly after the illustration of the Devil riding Behemoth (fol. 62r (plate 10)).[55] The list of creatures and monsters in Job is part of the Lord's great response to Job. In a triumphant crescendo of description, God tells of his power and knowledge of all the world, the firmament, the weather and the mysterious corners of the world, as well as finishing with a list of creatures, starting with smaller animals and leading up to how he can control even the great monsters Behemoth and Leviathan. In the same way, this section of Lambert's work goes through an illustrated bestiary of many types of animals, culminating in the images of Behemoth and Leviathan. Thus even though the monsters Lambert describes are horrifying in their power, they are known to be still under the control of their Creator (Job 40:19: "He is the First of

the Works of God.") Thus once more Lambert provides his readers with a threatening image, and one that could potentially have a negative influence on the viewer, only to go on and use it to re-emphasis the power of God and his positive Faith.

The shoes worn by the Antichrist have curious, curving extensions (plate 12). In his *Ecclesiastical History*, written around the same time as Lambert's *Liber Floridus*, Ordericus Vitalis says:

"They add excrescences like serpents' tails to the tips of their toes."[56]

"They" refers to proponents of fashionable dress at this time. Ordericus and many other church men saw these shoes with curled toes (which may have become vogue as a result of the Crusades) as sinful, and also included in this condemnation were other aspects of Antichrist's appearance, such as long hair and elongated cuffs. Antichrist's long hair is in contrast to that of Christ in the Church and Synagogue image. Antichrist's hair is much more elaborate, showing curls on either side of his head, and even one peeping out from the front of his crown. Christ's hairstyle, with its simple parting, derives directly from earlier Christian images such as that in the Loaves and Fishes mosaic at Ravenna. Lambert carefully draws Antichrist's costume so that the fancy sleeves are clear and obvious. These were considered to be impractical affectations and are only used by Lambert in one other illustration: that of Synagoga. Lambert's decision to give Antichrist bizarre footwear may have its origins in the same canon as a description of the Antichrist written in the

fifteenth century Book of Lismore which says that the soles of his feet are "round like the wheels of a cart".[57] This again seems to imply Antichrist's shifty nature.

If a shifty nature was a sign of Antichrist, then the Jews, who could be seen to have similar characteristics, must have seemed particularly suspicious. In a time when the Apocalypse was soon expected,[58] a servants of the Antichrist must have seemed a very frightening proof of the future. The Jews' willingness to live oppressed and alien within another culture appeared to be like the stealthy infiltration prophesised for Antichrist in Daniel 11:23 "he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest place of the province."

There are more links between Antichrist and Synagoga than the mere mention of Jews in the illustration of Antichrist. In one version of the story, Antichrist takes a tree with barren roots, and, as a miracle makes them bloom.[59] This dramatic symbol of a bare tree is bound to call to mind Lambert's *Arbor Mala*, which is sub-labelled 'Sinagoga'. Furthermore, it was prophesised that Antichrist would die, as a result of Christ's power, on the Mount of Olives.[60] Thus Lambert's image of a triumphant Christ on the Mount of Olives suggests that he has defeated Antichrist, and in dealing with Ecclesia and Synagoga is carrying out some of the judgement that was destined to follow.

From the Play of the Antichrist, written about 1160, a number of parallels can be drawn with Lambert's work which supports the claim that Antichrist and the Synagogue are interdependent images.[62] In this play Ecclesia is allied with the Pope, the Emperor and the Clergy while all the nations of the world submit to the Holy Roman Emperor. In the second half of the play, all these nations change their allegiance to Antichrist, who is eventually banished by God. Synagoga is the only person who succumbs to Antichrist without having submitted to the Emperor first. This is similar to Lambert's uncompromising attitude to Synagoga's guilt. He gives no opportunity or intimation that Synagogue could repent or change her position, and his Christ is implacable as he pushes her away.

In the play, Synagoga sings "In man there is no hope for life" (line 34). This denial, as well as resembling that of Lambert's Synagoga, provides an interesting angle on twelfth-century humanism, for according to Lambert and the Christian faith, hope for life came from Christ, a man. Ecclesia's line "I am like a green olive tree in the house of God", quoted from Psalms 52:8, is reminiscent of Lambert's fruitful *Arbor Bona*, which is sub-labelled 'Ecclesia'. Although the setting of the Play of Antichrist is not stated, some commentators decided that the 'noble hill' quoted in Daniel above, was to be the Mount of Olives, a place of great eschatological significance (the predicted site of Antichrist's death) where Lambert, uniquely, sets his Church and Synagogue image.

As a stage character, Ecclesia is dressed as a woman, but unlike Lambert's draped figure, she is also given a breastplate. Lambert's figure could easily have been given this warlike connotation with its context of crusade imagery. Lambert's interpretation of the event is so certain as to be pre-ordained - no real struggle occurs here, partly because Christ is rendered triumphant and partly because the victory is so clearly on Ecclesia's side. The fact that Lambert avoids military connotation within this illustration may well speak against Penelope Mayo's interpretation of the *Liber Floridus* as a Crusading-oriented document. Similarly, Penelope Mayo emphasises Lambert's commitment to his country of Flanders,[63] and while this is in little doubt, Lambert's nationalism is very much secondary to his faith, unlike the political context of the *Play of the Antichrist*.

In the *Ludus de Antichristo*, Ecclesia and Synagoga appear on stage for the first time - a major landmark in their visual representation. There were a number of crucial aspects to this characterisation. Traditionally Synagoga is veiled not blindfolded, due to II Corinthians 3;14: "But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth, the same veil undertaken away in the old testament; which veil is done away in Christ."

The Play of the Antichrist for the first time, shows *Synagoga* not veiled or blinded, but blindfolded.[64] The *Ludus de Antichristo* is also one of the first times that Ecclesia and Synagoga are taken from their previous stations at the foot of the Cross. By treating traditional subjects in

an untraditional manner, the writer was able to create a soundly based yet individual statement:

"He removed the two allegorical figures from the context of the Crucifixion and the *unio mystica* in order to use them for his own interpretation of the era."[64]

Much the same could be said of Lambert, who takes the Church and Synagogue figures from the foot of the Cross, and places them in a new setting with a new and individual emphasis of meaning.

The Play of the Antichrist is set at the end of time. Like the Church and Synagogue it contains both history and future events; in the case of the play, the past history is the story of Jacob and the future is the fate of Antichrist. In Lambert's image, the past event is the intimation of the Crucifixion and the future event is the judgement on the Mount of Olives. History and the future were combined in this way when future events were felt to be so definite that they were in essence history; future history. In this wheel of past, present and future Lambert could see himself as part of an ongoing pattern. This fits well with other evidence of his eschatological view of the cosmos discussed in chapter 2 above.

In the text to the left of Antichrist, Lambert mentions the common medieval assumption that Antichrist would be born of the tribe of Dan. In Genesis 49:17 Dan was described as "a serpent by the way, an adder in the path". Adso says that this means that Antichrist "will be on the path to strike those who walk in the path of righteousness."[65] This brings to mind Lambert's image of the Labyrinth

(plate 6), which can be equated with the problems of following the path of righteousness and how getting lost can lead the soul to the monster at the centre. Antichrist and the Minotaur are shown with their torsos in exactly the same unusual pose, and the Labyrinth encircles the Minotaur in much the same way that Leviathan's tail curls around Antichrist. Pictorially Lambert is making a strong link between the themes of these two images.

The Minotaur

Antichrist is placed within the circle formed by the Leviathan's tail in a way very reminiscent of the Minotaur's surroundings in the centre of the Labyrinth. Both hold a sword or staff in their right hand and hold their left in a gesture that seems to be that of blessing. Hans Swarzenski picks out the illustration of the *Minotaur in the Labyrinth* (fol. 20r, plate 6) as crucial to the themes and attitudes within Lambert's work.[66] It combines a flat diagram with a three-dimensional image and can be linked to other images within the manuscript. The physical evidence appears to bear Swarzenski's theory out.

The labyrinth, of course, is traditionally associated with the Greek legend of Theseus and the Minotaur. It tells how the Labyrinth was built by Daedalus to house the half man, half bull monster for King Minos of Crete. Theseus, whose father was forced to pay tribute in human lives to Minos and the monster, volunteered to rescue his country from this

bondage by offering himself as tribute. He entered the Labyrinth, slew the monster and returned victorious.

The details of this legend have an exegetical appeal, for they bear a remarkably strong resemblance to Christian ideals. The Minotaur represented the Devil, who captured many human souls. Theseus then was Christ, who came voluntarily from his father as a sacrifice, and in the Harrowing of Hell descended to the Devil's very lair in order to free his people for all time. In this reading, the Labyrinth can represent either Hell, the lair of the monster, or the world, whose confusing turnings can lead the innocent wanderer astray. In the *Liber Floridus*, Lambert places his illustration of the Minotaur in the Labyrinth immediately after a narrative history of the world which starts with Adam, the first mortal man, and ends with Antichrist. Thus the reader can associate the image with the passage of mankind through the world of salvation history. If man loses his way and ends up at the very centre of the maze of life, he confronts Antichrist, who so resembles the Minotaur in his lair. Another similar reading sees the labyrinth not quite as the world, but as the life through which Man must pass, not knowing if life gives him choices or is somehow ordained:

"...it represents the moral and perpetual confusions to which humanity is born... the Labyrinth may represent the entanglements of the deceitful world, fatal unless God is one's guide: commit yourself to earthly things and they will enchain you. But...the seemingly inextricable labyrinth is not necessarily a chaotic prison. It is simply what divine order

looks like when viewed from within time, where a linear and sequential perspective is natural. What seems like a maze to us as we move through it darkly is in fact a vision of order to God in eternity...the confusing maze is really the perfect order of creation."[67]

All this seems to be a competent reflection of Lambert's attitudes. His work attempts to take the huge confusing bundle of knowledge held by man and to find order and coherence from it, sorting out the relevant information and giving that prominence. His clear and confident view of the world convinced him of the supremacy of God within it. The Minotaur in the Labyrinth is contained in the first of Virginia Tuttle's twelve sections in the *Liber Floridus*. Her theme for this section is identified as how "God's will toward man may be revealed in the underlying design that unifies all human history".[68] The reading given above is clearly in harmony with this interpretation.

There are technically two ways in which a maze can be drawn. Multicursal ones give the traveller a choice of paths at junctions. Unicursal ones have only one path. Thus on a unicursal path the wanderer may be disoriented or bewildered, but will inevitably end up at the centre. It was this, unicursal design that was traditionally used in Classical and later in medieval models. Lambert's maze is unicursal and of a traditional, classical design which he probably copied from Rabanus Maurus' *De Universo*.[69] The labyrinth was however recognised as a pagan invention. Its frequent appearance in Rabanus Maurus' *De Universo* and late classical works meant that

even the basis of the design used was pagan.[70] Nonetheless, the elaboration of design and meaning by Christian artists could be seen as an affirmation of "the superiority of Christian art to pagan craft."[71] Indeed, the labyrinth was often used to represent what the Church saw as 'wrong' philosophies, either pagan or, more relevant to the twelfth century, heretical. Again this reading can be applied to Lambert, who hoped that his work would lead his readers easily through the potentially confusing path of knowledge and dogma without them being lost to heresy.

The wanderer does not know whether he is on a multicursal or unicursal path. Although the maze drawn by the artist may be unicursal, Penelope Reed Doob suggests that this may be the divine view of the situation, which from a mortal point of view seems far more complex. The labyrinths demonstrate the differing perspectives of God and mankind on the unfolding salvation history. As indicated in the vision of John in the Book of Revelations, the divine plan is omnipresent, controlling the forces of evil, even while tolerating their existence. Christ, like Theseus, is the means by which this unicursal path to salvation is revealed.

The theory of the Minotaur resembling the Antichrist and thus the devil fits well with other attitudes of Lambert's throughout the *Liber Floridus* and in particular in the Church and Synagogue imagery - the dangers that await those led astray, Christ as the only saviour, the strong differentiation between the roles of good and evil, and the underlying patterning of God's universe, which man will

find if only he trusts and believes: "...mundane and moral limitations lead us to see... the universe as a bewildering labyrinth, misperceptions we can transcend through the teachings of the Church, the imitation of Christ and the right perspective. Only by following the right process, footsteps or guiding thread can we see divine creation and justice; morality, epistemology and aesthetics coincide."[72] Lambert's fascination with charts and diagrams, especially concentric ones, can be seen as his attempt to show his readers a coherence in things that may at first sight seem hopelessly complicated, for instance, Lambert used a compotistical approach to calendar compilation as an effort to make sense of history. This idea was neatly summed up in his labyrinth image which, is one of the first illustration in the manuscript. The *Minotaur in the Labyrinth* is the sixth illustration in the *Liber Floridus*, counting diagrams. Not counting diagrams, it is first after the portrait of *St Audomarus* and the *author portrait*.

Even the traditional, circular pattern was seen to represent God's design. Lambert uses circles and circular patterns throughout the *Liber Floridus*, often in association with ecclesiological images. The two-dimensionality so remarkably favoured by Lambert reminded his readers that the perfect form, the circle in the typical medieval maze, reflected both the progress of human life and history and, by the stamp of the cross, the ordering of the universe with its cyclical renewal echoed in the liturgical seasons. Throughout the *Liber Floridus*, Lambert shows the Church beset by

challenges to its unity and ultimate triumph. The Minotaur represents the confusions and temptations that surround the Christian through life, the Jews and Synagoga challenge the position of the Christian Church at the right of God, and its role towards salvation. Finally, Antichrist is presented as a direct rival of Christ himself. These challenges are vividly portrayed by Lambert as one half of the spiritual choice put before his readers. Lambert never neglects, however, to show the weaknesses within these challenges to salvation, and so strives to show, by negative example, the path to Christian salvation.

[1] H. Liebeschütz, 'Relations between Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 16 (1965), p.35.
[2] H. Liebeschütz, 'The Crusading Movement and its Bearing upon Christian Attitudes towards Jewry', *Journal of Jewish Social Studies*, 10 (1959), p.38.
[3] H. Liebeschütz, *Relations between Christians and Jews*, p.44.
[4] Lambert includes a summary of some of Plato's writings on fols. 220v-222r and the influences of a neo-Platonic world-view on his work are discussed in V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the Structure of the "Liber Floridus"* (PhD. thesis, Ohio State University, 1979), pp.387-391. Even if Lambert was not aware of the Platonic basis for medieval dialectics, he would certainly have appreciated that this mode of reasoning had classical origins.
[5] *Odo Cameracensis* (fol. 5r), *Gislebertus abbas Westimonasterii* (fol. 10r) and *Dialogus Malchi ad Hiesum presbiterium* (fol. 10v) See Y. Lefevre, "Le Liber Floridus et la Litterature Encyclopedique au Moyen Age", in A. Derolez (ed.), *Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers read at the International Meeting held in the University Library 5-6 September 1967* (Ghent, E. Story-Scientia), p.6.
[6] In the text included within the curl of Leviathan's tail (fol. 62v, plate 11), Lambert states that "the 144,000 Jews from the tribes of the sons of Israel will be converted to the Lord." (*Tunc Iudei conuertentur ad Dominum ex omni tribu filiorum Israhel CXLIIII*)
[7] Lambert's summary of the *Cur Deus Homo* takes up sixteen sides of parchment in the *Liber Floridus*. This not inconsiderable piece of work means that Lambert must have read and understood Anselm's complex theological arguments. Although the *Liber Floridus* is primarily a compilation, Lambert's intellectual commitment should not be underestimated.
[8] H. Liebeschütz, *Relations between Christians and Jews*, p.39
[9] See also L. Delisle, 'Notices sur les manuscrits du 'Liber Floridus' compose en 1120 par Lambert, chanoine de Saint-Omer', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits en la Bibliothèque National et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 38:2 (1906), pp.710-720.
[10] H. Liebeschütz, *Relations between Christians and Jews*, p.35.
[11] S. Rorbacher, 'The Charge of Deicide. An Anti-Jewish Motif in Medieval Christian Art', *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), p.300.
[12] *Opus tripartitum*, ed E. Brown, *Fasiculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, 2, (London 1960), p.195.
[13] Psalm 74:6, discussed in "The Trees of Vices and Virtues" in chapter 5 below.
[14] This occurs on fol. 20v. See V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.56.
[15] H. Liebeschütz, *Christian Attitudes Towards Jewry*, p.102.

[16] See N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium*, (London, Granada, [1957] 1984, p.32.
[17] Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, II, 4, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 156, col. 700A.
[18] P. Mayo, 'Crusaders under the Palm', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27 (1973).
[19] "Take any contemporary analysis of the weaknesses of the Jewish position or the alleged short comings of the Jewish character; and in almost every instance it will be possible to trace the origin, if not actually to the Crusades, to the currents which stirred them." C. Roth, *A Short History of the Jewish People* (London, East and West Library, 1953), p.185.
[20] This can be traced back to a reinterpretation of the militia ideals around the time of Gregory VII (1073-1085). Previously *militia Christi*, the soldiers of Christ, was a paradoxical metaphor applied to monks who, through their internal battles with evil, helped to save mankind. Gregory took from this the idea that if, as he claimed, all secular powers came under the authority of the Church, then knights could be *militia Petri*, the soldiers of Peter, working for a higher authority. Such ideas were later to prove central to the formulation and promulgation of the Knights Templar.
[21] P. Alphandéry, 'Citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 99 (1929), 139-157.
[22] "For the men of this age it was of tremendous significance to experience the decisive spiritual events of the remote past, incorporated into the things of the concrete world and so made accessible to the world of the senses." H. Liebeschütz, *Chrsitian Attitudes Towards Jewry*, p.101.
[23] H. Bober, 'The Liber Floridus: Structure and Content of its imagery', *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, p.19.
[24] J. Riley Smith, "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews", *Studies in Church History* 21 (1984), p.60-1.
[25] "The eleventh century (was) the end of a period in the history of the Jewish diaspora in the West. In the First crusade, the social conditions of increasing degradation which are generally implicit in the use of the term "the Jewish middle ages" has its genuine beginning." H. Liebeschütz, *Relations between Christians and Jews*, p.37.
[26] J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, (Cleveland and New York, (1943) 1983), p.168.
[27] N. Golb, 'New Light on the Persecution of the French Jews at the Time of the First Crusade', in R. Chazan (ed.), *Jewish Medieval Life* (New York 1976), p.314-5.
[28] G. Langmuir, 'Anti-Judaic Feeling as a Necessary Preparation for Anti-Semitism', *Viator*, 2 (1971), p.386.

[29] M. Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.172.
[30] Further discussion of the blindness of Synagoga can be found in chapter 5 below.

[31] C. Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. W. McCuaig, (Princeton 1991), p.16.
[32] "(The Jews) preferred simple clothes, the most typical outer garment being a long robe from head to toe, which was occasionally (as in Spain) attached to a hood." E.M. Zafran, *The Iconography of Antisemitism*, (New York 1973), p.10.
[33] "*Cur distinctio nominum fieret judaeorum pariter et christianorum cum unis vultus atque loquelae homines essent utriusque gentis*" *Dialogus Miraculorum*, quoted in L. Poliakov, *The History of Antisemitism*, trans. R. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p.54-5.
[34] *Christ blesses the Loaves and Fishes*, mosaic frieze, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (c500-526).
[35] J. Harris 'Thieves, Harlots and Stinking Goats: Fashionable Dress and Aesthetic Attitudes in Romanesque Art,' *Costume* 21 (1987), p.11.
[36] W.S. Seiferth, 'The veil of the Synagogue', *Horizons of a Philosopher: Essays in Honour of D. Baumgardt* (Leiden, 1963), p.386.
[37] H. Kraus, *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1967), p.149.
[38] H. Kraus, *Living Theatre of Medieval Art*, p.149.
[39] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.349.
[40] H. Swarzenski, 'Comments upon the Figural Illustrations', *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, p.27.
[41] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.346.

[42] "*Tunc Iudei conuertentur ad Dominum ex omni tribu filiorum Israhel CXLIIII.*"
[43] 1 John 2:18, 4:3 & 2 John 7.
[44] My compilation of sections from Daniel 8:23-12:2.
[45] R.K. Emmerson, 'Antichrist as Anti-Saint: The Significance of Abbot Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo*,' *American Benedictine Review*, Vol. 30 (1979), p.176.
[46] Lambert claims to include the *Epistola Methodii de Antichristo* in fols. 108v-110r, but this has actually been identified as Adso's *De ortu et tempore Antichristi necnon et tractatus qui ab eo dependunt* (D. Verhelst, 'Les Textes Eschatologiques dans le *Liber Floridus*' in W. Verbeke *et al.*, (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, (Leuven, Leuven University Press 1988), p.299.) Lambert may also have had access to the Pseudo-Methodius' *Epistola Methodii de Antichristo* (D. Verhelst (ed.), *Adso Dervensis: De ortu et tempore Antichristi necnon et tractatus qui ab eo dependunt*, Corpus christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 15 (Turnhout 1976), pp.141-143.) The Pseudo-Methodius was based upon Adso's account and the two are very similar: "*In ciuitatibus Bethsaida et Corozaim nutriri et coneruari dicitur*" (Adso, (D. Verhelst (ed.), *De Antichristo*, p.24, line 50). "*In ciutate Bethsaida et Corozaim nutrietur*" (Pseudo-Methodius, (D. Verhelst (ed.), *De Antichristo*, p147, line 26). This can be compared to Lambert: "*Nascetur Antichristus in Corozain, nutrietur in Bethsaida*". (fol. 62v, plate 11). Lambert's sixty-word interpretation of the life of Antichrist could, then, contain a summary of either or both of these works.
[47] Lambert could well be viewing the contemporary history of his sixth age with reference to what it may suggest about the

coming eschaton. Derolez suggests that Lambert has included a lengthy section on the struggle between Henry V and Paschal II (*Conflictus Henrici et Paschalis*, fols. 106r-108v),because it can be seen as a precursor of the struggle between the Antichrist and the Church. See A. Derolez, *Report on the Proceedings of the Liber Floridus Colloquy, Ghent University Library 5-6 September 1967* (Ghent, Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, 1969), p.226.

[48] B. McGinn, 'Portraying Antichrist in the Middle Ages' in W. Verbeke *et al.*, (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology*, p.14.

[49] R.K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, Manchester 1981, pp.108-25.

[50] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.333. Tuttle continues by claiming that in just as the stump of the tree is chained for seven ages, so Christ's birth chained Antichrist for a millenium, the sixth age of the world mentioned in Lambert's unique Nebuchadnezzar illustration. Thus the figure cutting down the tree could be seen as Christ, and Tuttle sees the red on the Woodcutter's clothes as the bloodstains mentioned in Revelations 19:13. There is little doubt of this illustration's basic connection with Lambert's wide ranging themes of Good and Bad, just judgement and punishment, and the measurement of time leading towards the coming Apocalypse. However Tuttle's claims elaborate on these ideas without providing sufficient explanation to justify her ideas. If the dream tree represents Antichrist, why is it bursting with variety and vitality as only Lambert's 'good' trees do? If the Woodcutter is Christ, why do he have such an extraordinarily delineated face, unlike any other in the *Liber Floridus*? The colouring in the illustration, although bold, is crudely carried out. Part of the colouring of the Woodcutter's hair has been omitted and part of his robe has been coloured green in the mistaken assumption that it belongs to his cloak. The colour also breaks free of its boundaries in a number of places. As the inking of Lambert's work is usually much neater and more sensitive, it seems possible that this picture was inked by an assistant or apprentice. As a result, it seems overly interpretive to claim that the patchy red colouring on the Woodcutter's thigh (which does not appear to be part of the drawn design, but a colouring-in of the fold design on the cloth) is meant to be read as a bloodstain and show the figure to be Christ. In other places where Lambert wished to symbolise the Antichrist, he states this specifically, for instance, below the illustration of Antichrist riding Leviathan (fol. 62v, plate 11) Lambert writes that "Leviathan thus signifies Antichrist". Lambert uses much of the space in the Nebuchadnezzar in explaining his image, and so it seems strange that he did not use this opportunity to explain such symbolism more fully. I propose, therefore, that while the general implications of the Nebuchadnezzar image might be accepted, more complex interpretations should be viewed with caution unless they are provided along with adequate explanation.

[51] R. Melinkoff, 'Three Mysterious Ladies Unmasked,' *Journal of Jewish Art*, 10 (1984) p.25.

[52] E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century: a study in medieval iconography and its sources*, trans. M. Mathews, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984), p.380.

[53] E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century*, p.380.
[54] See R.K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p.22.
[55] See J. Poesch, 'The Beasts of Job in the *Liber Floridus* Manuscripts', *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 33 (1970), *passim*.
[56] Tuttle's claim, that the bestiary is placed here to echo Beatus' description of the four creatures of the Evangelists, is weak (V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.125). Lambert only illustrated one, the lion, of the four Evangelistic symbols (one of which is not even a beast!) Tuttle claims that Lambert's choice of types of beasts is based on Beatus, but an acknowledgement of Lambert's use of Job would do little to harm Tuttle's argument here.
[57] M. Chibnall (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus Vitalis* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1973), p.188-9.
[58] Discussed by B. McGinn, *Portraying Antichrist*, 1988, p.12.
[59] The six ages of the world were represented by the six days of creation. Each of the six ages lasted approximately 1,000 years. the last age had started with Christ and so was just overdue in Lambert's time. see R.K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p.16-17. See also G. Langmuir, *History, Religion and Antisemitism*, (London, Tauris, 1990), p.292,
[60] New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, Ms. 524, fol. 7r.
[61] Haimo, *In Epistolam II ad Thessallonicenses* in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 117.779-782.
[62] Adso's 'essay on Antichrist' translated in J. Wright, *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1967), p.102.
[63] This was based on two previous works: Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* written for Queen Gerberga of France at the end of the tenth century, and Otto of Friesing's *Chronica de Duis Civitatibus* of 1146. The *Ludus de Antichristo* sets the stage out with the 'good' forces on one side and the 'bad' on the other. Facing the audience are the 'neutral' characters - Babylon, the Gentiles and the Greeks. To the audience's left, Antichrist and Synagoga set up their throne at the Temple in Jerusalem. Opposing them on the right are the Emperor, the Pope, the Clergy, the Army, Ecclesia, Justice and Mercy. During the course of the play Ecclesia, Synagoga and Babylon step forward to make doctrinal assertions.
[64] P. Mayo, *Crusaders under the Palm*, *passim*.
[65] "A blindfold is a dramatic symbol; it must be untied, it must fall, in order to fulfill its meaning. A blindfold cannot represent eternal but only temporary blindness, which will come to an end when the word of God is revived and received at the decisive. The blindfold, which is to be untied, is a symbol of the eschatological expectation: it is one in the group of motifs surrounding the Last Judgement and makes clear the nature of this judgement: divine mercy." W.S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, trans. L. Chadeayne and P. Gottwald, (New York 1970), p.84. The blindfold first occured in the *Ludus de Antichristo* which is discussed in the section on Antichrist below.
[66] R. Axton, *European Drama and the Early Middle Ages* (London, Hutchison, 1974), p.92.

[67] H. Swarzenski, *Figural Illustrations*, p.21.
[68] P. Reed Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages*, Ithaca 1990, p.130.
[69] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.71.
[70] F. Saxl, 'Illustrated Medieval Encyclopedias', *Lectures*, (London 1957), p.130.
[71] Connections between Labyrinths and pagan and heretical theology abound. Some manuscripts compare pagan philosophy to a maze, other manuscripts contain Labyrinth images, such as Paris BN ms. lat. 1745. This manuscript dates variously from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. Its focal interest is heresy and it contains on fol. 30v an illustration of a Labyrinth. The thirteenth century manuscript Oxford ms. Bodley Auct. F.6.4 (S.C. 2150) contains a maze headed by a poem which appears to link being caught in a labyrinth with being blind, a blindness that can only be cured by the power of baptism and the sacrament:
"*Numquam videt cecus natus/ Nisi prius baptizatus/ In aquas misterii*" ("The man born blind will never see/ Unless he is first baptised/ In the waters of the sacrament).
Penelope Reed Doob discusses a tenth or eleventh century maze, possibly from Auxerre, which compares pagan philosophy to a maze, and a manuscript of Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* into which is written a distich likening the maze to hell and the Minotaur to the devil, but I have been unable to trace the details of these two manuscripts.
[72] P. Reed Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth*, p.133.
[73] P. Reed Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth*, p.131.

Confrontation and Ultimate Control

Church and Synagogue

As indicated in the texts selected by Lambert, the theme of the Church in conflict with Synagogue had a long history from its scriptural beginnings to its usual formulae. These usual formulae, stressing the sightless nature of Synagoga helped to shape the seminal illustration of Christ on the Mount of Olives on fol. 253r, claimed by Swarzenski to be an original concept.[1]

A manuscript in Leiden from the early eleventh century (plate 32) shows an Ecclesia figure with cup and standard, and Synagoga with downturned banner. The Ottonian Uta Codex of around 1020 (plate 24) shows a haloed Grace and a blinded Law in the border surrounding a triumphant, but crucified Christ. In this illustration, the border contains (at the bottom) non-personified representations of the Church and Synagogue, and at the foot of the cross itself are an elegantly robed 'Life' with an upturned face and 'Death', turned away with broken staff and obscured vision.[2] All three of these pairs of contrasting images in the Uta Codex show aspects of the coherent opposition of imagery that characterised Church and Synagogue imagery. These examples imply a body of Church and Synagogue imagery pre-dating the First Crusade, when such oppositional imagery first came into vogue. Thus the elements that would make up the confrontational imagery used by Lambert were already extant, but had not yet gained the popularity that they would enjoy from the end of the eleventh century onwards.

Lambert's Church and Synagogue illustration is an original concept as Swarzenski claims, in the fact that at the time it was unique in its specific iconography and was the first to show Ecclesia and Synagoga by a living and triumphant God as Suger was to do (plate 34).

It is noticeable that Lambert's version of the Church and Synagogue image gives it a geographical location in the Holy Land, on the Mount of Olives. In giving his image a site in the real world, Lambert emphasises his belief that this event will happen in the contemporary world. The Mount of Olives was a *locus sanctus*, a holy place in Christian tradition; the site where Christ had preached the Beatitudes. It was also known as the place where Antichrist, Synagoga's master, would descend into hell. Lambert mentions it in this context elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus*, when he summarises the "*Epistola Methodii de Antichristo*"[3]. Thus Synagoga (and therefore the Jews) can be seen as a cipher for Antichrist, as her fate mirrors his precisely. However, Lambert's use of the Mount of Olives as a setting is probably as a result of chapter 14 of Zechariah which tells how the Mount of Olives will be the site where the Lord will send half the people into exile and keep the rest in Jerusalem. This is remarkably similar to the action taken by Lambert's Christ. By what he brought together in his image conflation of the Mount of Olives iconography, Lambert presented the reader with a demonstration of the role of the Church on Earth and its crucial relation with her Church Universal of the coming eschaton.

Christ appears at the centre of Lambert's image, with Ecclesia and Synagoga as shorter figures on either side of him, and then beside them their 'attributes' of the baptismal font and the mouth of hell respectively. This has the effect of a symmetrical, triangular composition with Christ's head at the peak. However the slope is much more pronounced down the right hand side of the picture. On the left, Ecclesia's side, the bold shape of the pennanted banner breaks up the line. On the right, the lower level of Christ's arm, followed by Synagoga's discarded crown and then Synagoga's arm dropping down to the hell-mouth form an almost continuous slope. This is further emphasised by the fact that the base of the image, the ground upon which the figures stand, drops in a similar manner. The baptismal font is placed a on higher, paler base in the background. Then comes the foreground, the Mount of Olives itself, on which only Ecclesia and Christ stand. Synagoga's right foot is just lifting off the Mount - a beautiful, elegant, tiny touch from Lambert, who always had an eye for detail. Her left foot is in mid-air as she is quite literally 'rushed off her feet' in her fall towards hell. These two diagonal lines from left to right across the picture vividly pull Synagoga downward and away from Christ and Ecclesia. With this slope and Synagoga's outflung arms and kicking legs of there is a sense of how her fate in the inferno is determined as a result of her denial. At the same time, on the highest basis in the image, is the font, available for the absolution of all sinners and the one thing that could save her.

Christ between the Church and Synagogue gains an internal tension throughout as a result of the way that everything interconnects within the picture. Every object and person touches the one next to it, but only just. All the outlines and the independent existence of each image remains clear. Thus the shoulder of Ecclesia just touches the font, and her chalice just touches Christ. Synagoga's right foot is on the point of leaving the mount of Olives and the edge of her forward leg brushes against the protruding lower lip of the hell mouth.

As with the *Trees of virtues and vices* (plates 19-21), Lambert uses two similar figurative forms and uses their basic similarities to show strong contrasts. Both Ecclesia and Synagoga are women of a similar height and stand opposite each other in a similar fashion, with bodies facing towards the right and with their hands out in the same direction. But where Ecclesia's head is facing the same direction as her body, so that her whole form is aligned towards Christ, Synagoga's head is turned to the left, away from the alignment of her body. This is as if there is conflict within her, for Synagoga was to represent the Jews who truly knew Christ but refused to acknowledge Him. Although both women hold their arms in the same way, their hands are in strong contrast. Ecclesia's right hand holds a tall and clear banner, whereas it is Synagoga's left hand that holds her banner, smaller, more feeble and broken. The left hand traditionally symbolised the - literally - sinister side, and the broken banner was a most obvious symbol of defeat and failure versus Ecclesia's success. As the

inscription by Ecclesia's banner states that it was made of the Cross, then it can be seen that the Crucifixion supplied the means for Ecclesia's triumph. Synagoga's principal hand, her right, is empty and open in a gesture of surprise or dismay. Ecclesia is holding the chalice, representative of the Eucharist, and of the Crucifixion. Through the Body and Blood of Christ only is Salvation possible; it is the ultimate recognition of Christ.

Even Synagoga's crown has been taken from her, the crown that was once hers, but of which she is no longer worthy. Instead, it is Ecclesia whose victory is made complete at her coronation. The physical attributes, then, held by Ecclesia and Synagoga symbolise the physical success of one over the other. Like their clothes,[4] Ecclesia and Synagoga's faces show the contrast in the position. Neither is static, and forward looking, pure symbols, instead Lambert manages, for possibly the only time in the surviving illustrations of the *Liber Floridus*, to show clear characterisation through facial features. While Christ remains forward looking and impassive, the protagonists could almost be players in a drama. Synagoga is drawn and anxious, Ecclesia is half solemn, half smiling, almost a little smug. Lambert's Synagoga is not steadfast in her stubbornness, but instead is clearly aware of her defeat. This figure could never appear impressive, and the best emotion it could engender in the viewer might be sympathy. Here then, Lambert is presenting a choice that is no choice. The contrast between the two women, though seeming at first so finely balanced is actually no choice at all, but an

exhortation to accept Ecclesia combined with a merciless look at what Lambert saw as the alternative. This image demonstrate's Lambert's pictorial encouragement in assisting his readers in their choice, by the additional imagery of the font and hell mouth for the new dispensation through the water of baptism is made to triumph over the jaws of Hell - the Old Testament Sheol, the abode of the dead.

The Jaws of Hell and the Baptismal Font

The 'mouth of hell' like the one shown in Lambert's *Christ between Church and Synagogue* (plate 1) was derived from the mouth of Leviathan and had a long visual history. Leviathan's jaws were used to represent the tortures of hell beyond the portal showing the entrance to Limbo. This imagery had its origins in Job 41:14[5] and was common throughout the middle ages:

"By breaking down the doors of Hell, Jesus Christ broke down the doors behind which Leviathan hid his face."[6]

Lambert was however probably not aware of or concerned with the origins of the jaws imagery, for the hell mouth in *Christ between Church and Synagogue* bears only superficial resemblance to his Leviathan (fol. 62v, plate 11). The Jaws of hell are noticeably the lowest feature in the image. Unlike the font, they rest on no symbolic base. They are naturally lower than Synagoga, for she is 'falling' towards them. Instead they sprout from the very border of the image itself. This truly gives the image that they are below the earth, on which Christ and Ecclesia stand. The jaws are not large, but they fill the

space allotted to them by Lambert. Their position is threatening to Synagoga; the bottom lip already touches her robe, and her elaborate sleeve dangles tantalizingly just above the teeth.

In the Middle Ages a connection was made between two Latin words with similar roots: *occidens* 'west' and *occidere* 'annihilate'.[7] This symbolism was seen as proof that the Last Judgement should be linked to the west - judgement carvings are often found on west portals. In this way, if the Synagogue and Jaws of Hell side of Lambert's illustration is the west, then the Church and baptismal font side represents the east:

"The west, where the sun disappears, is the place of darkness and evil; the east, where the sun rises, is the place of dawning light and righteousness. Thus one of the common rites of Baptism in the Christian Church is for the catechumen first to turn towards the west, renounce the darkness and evil, and then turn towards the east and the light and righteousness of the Christian faith."[8]

These ideas of directional opposition contrasting baptism and hell would be familiar to Lambert. Most churches are set up on this basis and these ideas are also described by some of Lambert's sources, Tertullian, Jerome and Augustine, among others.

Despite this, the traditional place for a font was at the west end of a Church. This was because baptism was seen as the 'door to the sacraments' - no man could enter the Church without initiation, and so no-one could enter a church without passing the symbol of that initiation.[9] Thus for Synagoga, or

for anyone accepting Christ and the Church, the font was the first step leading to Paradise. Lambert then is not directly promising a place in heaven, but is showing the way to the path that leads there.[10]

The opposite fate to Synagoga's banishment in Hell would certainly be a place in paradise, and yet Lambert's contrasting image to the mouth of the inferno is the baptismal font. This further emphasises the idea expressed by Beatus above, that baptism and Paradise were associated in the medieval mind. Thus triple lines of connection can be seen between baptism, Paradise and the abstract manifestation of the Church. Rabanus Maurus stated explicitly that Paradise was a "mystical symbol of the Church."[11]

Although Lambert's inclusion of the baptismal font in a directly confrontational image of Church and Synagogue is probably unique, *disputatio* documents used the baptism versus circumcision topic in their comparisons of Ecclesia and Synagoga.[12] In *De Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae* thought in the Middle Ages to be by St Augustine himself,[13] Ecclesia repudiates Synagoga's support of circumcision by saying that circumcision is unsuitable as a mark of faith because it can be used only for men, and thus just half of God's people. This is reflected in Lambert's label that the font "lies open to all the Church." In the *Altercatio*, Ecclesia also says that circumcision is unsuitable as a proof of being one of God's people because it is covered by clothes. Baptism however (through the cross signed on the forehead) makes itself visible to all.[14] This is again reminiscent of the theme of Synagoga's

character being hidden and veiled, compared to the unashamedly open nature of Ecclesia, with the font standing openly beside her. This again implies that Lambert's unique emphasis of the baptism contained a conscious and coherent message. Thus in the baptismal font Lambert is provided with an excellent symbol, along with the Crucifixion, for comparing the Church with the Synagogue. Following Synagoga will bring one to the Jaws of Hell; following Ecclesia leads to the baptism and the salvation that it promises:

"The candidate was encouraged to approach the sacrament of regeneration in the confident hope that he would thereby be enabled to overcome the wishes of the evil one and resist the fire of temptation."[15]

This implies that the catechumen should be conscious of what his baptism represents. For this, he would have to be an adult, but in Lambert's time baptism of infants was becoming the common practice. One effect of this was that fonts became much smaller (although not too small as submersion was still the norm). Lambert's font, a round, thick-based chalice shape typical of contemporary designs, is more adult-sized. This might be a result of Lambert's particular style of illustrations, which always endeavours to make the contents of his picture fill as much space as is available. However, a large font fits well into the picture's ideals. Lambert's inscription says that the font is open to all sinners, not just infants, and this would include the Jews. Here therefore Lambert still offers a hope of salvation, even at the eleventh hour.

The baptism involved at least two other people beyond the child and the priest: the godparent and the mother, who is 'Churched' or purified. This can be seen as a unification of the child and the mother in the Church.[16] By an extension of this, Ecclesia can be seen as the mother figure for the catechumen who are joined together through the Baptism. Ecclesia can also be seen as the godparent, who interacts between God and the catechumen, and acts as the sponsor for the candidate for Baptism.

The Christ portrayed by Lambert is the Triumphant Victor, he stands on the Mount of Olives having himself defeated death. Yet the choice between life and death are still before the viewers. If they deny Christ as Synagoga does, then the jaws of hell await them. If they follow Christ through Ecclesia, however, then the font is 'open' to them, as Lambert says, containing the promise rebirth and new life.

Baptism was a symbol of regeneration, a way of undoing the Fall of Man - it is noticeable that medieval baptisms were limited principally to Easter, Epiphany and Pentecost. Most popular was Easter Saturday, for thus it could be seen that the catechumen died and was reborn with the Saviour.[17] Thus fonts were often decorated with images of the what was seen as the things that baptism affected, such as dragons and monsters.[18]

It is not surprising that by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the combat of the Vices and Virtues had become a very popular subject for font decoration.[19] On the font at Stanton Fitzwarren, Wiltshire, also from the twelfth century, there are ten arcaded compartments. Eight of these show Virtues trampling

on their opposite Vices. The ninth contains a guardian cherubim, and the tenth shows Ecclesia piercing a serpent.[20] Here then the subjects of Ecclesia's victory, the power of baptism and the triumph of the Vices and Virtues are all linked together. Ecclesia is seen as a 'sister' to the Virtues, and her victory comes from her success over the dragon. Similarly, in the *Liber Floridus* Ecclesia is triumphant because she is being crowned by Christ, it is the victory of Christian baptism against Judaism gives her that triumph. This triumph finds further visual reinforcement in the images of the *Arbor bona* and the *Arbor mala*.

The Trees of Vices and Virtues

Lambert's *Christ between the Church and Synagogue* (plate 1) is connected to his *Tree of Virtues* and *Tree of Vices* (plates 19-21) principally in the fact that the trees are subtitled "ecclesia" and "sinagoga" respectively. However, their contrasting between good and bad, between living and dying, as well as the idea they contain of just judgement places them at the heart of Lambert's philosophy.

The particular moral allegory containing a personified comparison of Virtues and Vices was taken originally from antiquity by the early Christians. It was popular in both poetry and art and in art was soon divided into two manners of representation. The first is the 'active' style which shows the Virtues and Vices engaged in physical contact. This was known generally as a *psychomachia*, and was probably inspired by Ephesians 6:11ff[21] and gained its best-known incarnation in

the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius dating from around the fifth century. This was one of the most popular illustrated manuscripts of the middle ages.[22] It used the classical tradition of figures (in this case women) dressed in antique formal garb. The second style of representation was the 'static' one, which still used classically dressed females, but gave them appearances, descriptions and hierarchies to differentiate their characters. Thus it can be seen that the active style shows how good and bad relate to each other, while the static gives more analysis of individual characteristics:

"While the first group demonstrates the necessary practical setting of the issues between good and evil, the second group gives the observer theological insight into the essential nature of those forces and their relations to one another."[23]

Lambert's work can be seen as a subtle synthesis of these two styles. Although his image may seem to be principally a static one, his Virtue images are far more animated than the usual statuesque representations, especially when it is considered that their counterparts are not even represented. The wonderful curling, sprouting effect of the tree of Virtues provides a contrast in itself, and is certainly winning the war of life against the tree of Vices. Finally, the axe and the hatchet set into the roots of the tree of Vices are reminiscent of the *Psychomachia* scenes showing the death of various vices, usually injured with the Virtues' weapons.

The simplest of all these allegories used just the four cardinal Virtues. Lambert's image is far more advanced, showing twelve of both Vices and Virtues in the branches of their trees, plus one set into the trunk. The medallions used by Lambert were again a classical tradition, found originally in Roman mosaics, but flourishing in Vice and Virtue representations from the ninth century onwards.[24] This divorced the figures from their surroundings, but allowed them to be placed in a meaningful and coherent pattern. Prudentius had chosen *Superbia* as the root of all vices, Avarice as the strongest and put *Fides* as the leader of the Virtues.[25] Lambert however has followed the strongly Biblical bent he uses within this image, by taking his model from I Corinthians 13:13. This states that the greatest virtues are faith, hope and charity. Thus Lambert places *Caritas* at the root of the tree of Virtues, puts *Spes* in the largest and most central medallion, and has *Fides* surmounting all other Virtues, giving her an ecclesiastical costume and a crown that makes her instantly reminiscent of Ecclesia. This became a common medieval ideal, for a near-contemporary of Lambert's, Hugh of Saint-Victor, stated that "cupidity is the root of every evil and charity is the root of every good."[26]

Lambert's *Celestial Jerusalem* (fol. 65r, plate 13) which is again a metaphor for the Church, has each tower surmounted by the name of a precious stone, along with that of an apostle. On the next page (fol. 65v.) Lambert gives the names of the twelve precious stones and associates each one with a virtue, for instance, topaz with the contemplative

spirit. This provides a further example of Lambert's view of the world which links all things together. It also emphasises the importance to him of the themes of good and virtue, themes which gain their ultimate portrayal within the *Liber Floridus* in the *Trees of Vices and Virtues*.

Most of the text surrounding the *Trees of Vices and Virtues* have usually been taken by Lambert directly from the Bible. Some of these texts have been used by him to inspire precise details of his image, for instance his use of Psalm 74:6, has suggested to Lambert that he carefully differentiate both types of tool.[27] Lambert includes text from Psalm 45:9[28] to describe the tree of Virtues, and this psalm was considered to be the wedding song for the marriage described in the Song of Songs.[29] This psalm states that the good tree is the queen to the right of God, and this description could just as easily be used to describe the crowned Ecclesia by Christ's side in the Church and Synagogue image.[30] As the Song of Songs was one of the most common allegories for Christ and Ecclesia (see "Ecclesia" in chapter 3 above), Lambert again provides a clear link with the Ecclesia theme that runs throughout the *Liber Floridus*.

The Trees of Vices and Virtues, like the image of *Christ between the Church and the Synagogue*, can be connected with the crucifixion. With the Church and Synagogue illustration this connection came from Christ's outstretched pose and the idea that his life and death created Christianity from Judaism. With the trees, it was the tree of Virtues that could be seen as the Cross, for Christ's virtues had brought

him to it. By the time of the thirteenth century Christ is shown being crucified by the virtues and they are often accompanied by Synagoga, and by Ecclesia holding a banner and chalice as she does in Lambert's image (plate 25).

The virtues were also associated with baptism. Many baptismal fonts were carved with details of the virtues and vices.[31] The baptism was seen as having a purifying and beneficial effect on the catechumen and was a move toward good defeating evil in the world. Many images of the Vices and Virtues (such as those associated with the *Psychomachia*) suggest that the contest was a war within the soul.[32] In Lambert's image however the viewer is presented with a simple choice between Life and Death. This was also suggested by his unique inclusion of the baptismal font in his Church and Synagogue image.

The Trees of Vices and Virtues are just two of the many instances of tree illustrations within the *Liber Floridus*.[33] Like the *Arbor Bona* and the *Arbor Mala*, the Palm on Mount Zion also includes lists of Vices and Virtues. On this tree, which is also labelled 'Ecclesia' the Virtues are written within the shelter of the tree, where the Vices are left outside it. This is strongly reminiscent of Christ's welcoming acceptance of Ecclesia and his dismissal of Synagoga in Lambert's *Christ between the Church and Synagogue*. Lambert chooses his list of Virtues to give priority to active ones (for instance spreading the faith) above passive ones.[34] This is in sympathy with the active and evangelistic attitude of both the Church and Synagogue image, and the *Liber Floridus* as a whole.

[1] In the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Jerusalem is personified as a woman cast off by the Lord and Proverbs 8:22 tells of the Ecclesia/Wisdom figure that was always with God ("The Lord created me at the beginning of his work"). In the New Testament, Matthew 25:34-42 says.
"Then the King will say to them at his right hand 'Come O blessed of my Father inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world... Then he will say to those at his left hand, 'Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.'"
[2] H. Swarzenski, "Comments upon the Figural Illustrations", *Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers read at the International Meeting held in the University Library, Ghent, on 3-5 September 1967* (Ghent, E. Story-Scientia, 1973), p.24.
[3] Uta Codex, Munich, Bayerische Stattsbibl., Clm. 13601, fol. 3v.
[4] Fols. 108v-110r.
[5] Ecclesia's simple, draped robe was both a decorous costume and one that was reminiscent of classical styles. These not only symbolised the era of great learning but also harked back to costumes worn by the early Christians who had been so much closer to Christ. Ecclesia's reverentially covered hands mimic the typical custom of the early Christians (plate 33). As an antithesis, Synagoga's tippetted robe was part of a short-lived, contemporary fashion, and as such represented vanity and provided a contrast to the timelessness of Ecclesia's costume. These costumes are further discussed in chapters 4 and 5.
[6] Bruno d'Asti, *Exposition in Job*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 164 cols. 688-9, discussed in D.C. Stuart, 'The Stage Setting of Hell and the Iconography of the Middle Ages,' *Romanic Review*, 4 (1913), p.340.
[7] E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century:a study in medieval iconography and its sources*, Trans. from the 3rd edition by D. Nussey, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963), p.7.
[8] A. Whittick, *Symbols, Signs and their Meaning* (London, L. Hill, 1971), p.134-5.
[9] J.G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London, Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), p.61.
[10] The idea that it is not the goal, but the start, the path that Lambert shows to the viewer is obviously instantly reminiscent of the Labyrinth, where success is almost assured if the traveller is set on the right path and does not falter. See the section "The Minotaur" in chapter 5 above.
[11] "*Paradisus, id est hortus deliciarum mystice... Ecclesiam praesentem significat.*" Rabanus Maurus, "De Universo", in Migne, *Patrologa Latina*, 111, p.334.
[12] For further discussions on the use of *disputatio* arguments, see the section on "The Jews" in chapter 4 above, and see also the conclusion.
[13] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 13 [Aug. 8] 1131-1140, discussed in A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance* (Cambridge 1935),

pp.328-334.
[14] Baptism obviously left no physical sign, but it was seen to "imprint" the catechumen:
"She (the Church) removes our swaddling clothes at baptism in order to imprint her unction upon us."
(H. Clerissac, *The Mystery of The Church* (New York 1937), p.128.)
[15] J.G. Davies, *Setting of Baptism*, p.82.
[16] A. Schmemann, *Of Water and the Spirit - a Liturgical Study of Baptism* (London, SPCK, 1976), p.143.
[17] E. Mâle, Religious *Art in France in the Thirteenth Century*, p.18.
[18] J. G. Davies, *Setting of Baptism*, p.82.
[19] For instance on the twelfth-century font at Bridekirk in Cumbria. See J.G. Davies, *Setting of Baptism*, p.80-1.
[20] This font is described in A. Paley, *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts* (London, 1844). Unfortunately a print of sufficient quality was not available. The Vice and Virtue pairings are *Largitas* on *Avaritia*, *Humilitas* on *Superbia*, *Pietas* on *Discordia*, *Misericordia* on *Invidia*, *Modestia* on *Ebrietas*, *Temperancia* on *Luxuria*, *Paciencia* on *Ira* and *Pudicia* on *Libido*.

[21] "Put on the whole armour of God... having girded your loins with truth and having put on the breastplate of righteousness..."
[22] H. Woodruff, *The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1930), p.4.
[23] A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art* (London, Warburg Institute, 1939), Introduction, p.VII.
[24] A. Katzenellenbogen, *Virtues and Vices*, p.23.
[25] A. Katzenellenbogen, *Virtues and Vices*, p.49.
[26] Hugh of Saint-Victor, "Of the Nature of Love", *Hugh of Saint-Victor, Selected Spiritual Writings*, trans. by a Religious of C.S.M.V., London 1962, p.187.
[27] The words inscribed by the Tree of Vices by Lambert are "*securi et ascia*", commonly translated as "hatchets and hammers". However a better translation might be "hatchets and axes". Lambert certainly shows two different types of axe-like tool.
[28] "*regina a dextris dei*" - the queen to the right of God.
[29] See, for instance, St Augustine, *Exposition on the Psalms*, ed. A. Cleveland Coxe, (New York 1917), p.145.
[30] This means, of course, that as the reader looks at the manuscript, both Ecclesia and the Tree of Virtues are on the reader's left, while Synagoga and the Tree of Vices are on the right. The strong symmetry of both these images highlights the contrast and the confrontation.
[31] For instance the thirteenth century font of Hildesheim discussed in A. Katzenellenbogen, 1939, p.49, the twelfth century font at Bridekirk, Cumbria discussed in J.G. Davies, *Setting of the Baptism*, p.61 and the twelfth century font of Stanton Fitzwarren illustrated by A.Paley, *Baptismal Fonts*, p.118.

[32] H. Woodruff, *The Manuscripts of Prudentius*, p4.
[33] These include Paradise (fol. 52r, plate 7),the Palm on Mount Zion (fol. 76v, plate 14), the Beatitude Trees (fol. 139v-140r, plate 15-6), the Lily Among the Thorns (fol 230v) and Nebuchadnezzar's Dream (fol. 232v, plate 22).
[34] For an analysis of this, see V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.137.

Conclusion

There are now a number of works which consider themes dealt with by Lambert of Saint-Omer in the *Liber Floridus*, and no doubt these will continue to be written, for the complex structure used by Lambert could uphold many theories without a definitive one being produced.

To come up with such a definitive theme was outwith the purpose of this thesis. Instead, this thesis has looked at the probable way in which Lambert thought that his work would be of use to his brethren. In considering those images which seem most significant within Lambert's manuscript, I came to the conclusion that there is nothing arbitrary about Lambert's selection, but that every time illustrations were placed within the text they were intended to point out the basic dilemma facing each individual concerned for his soul. In exploring this premise, I have concentrated on the pictorial content of the *Liber Floridus*, believing that this forms a 'scaffold' which both supports the written content and provides a simplified view of the overall structure.

As discussed in chapter 1, no interpretation of any work can be complete or acceptable without addressing the question of why the creator chose to make it that way. Whatever the unconscious influences on a writer or artist, he has surely made his conscious choices for definite reasons. As I discussed in chapter 1, Lambert seems to have produced an encyclopedic work for his own reasons alone and so it is personal inspiration that should be manifest within the *Liber Floridus*.

Throughout this thesis, the view emerges that the structure of the *Liber Floridus* can be seen as a tool, simply the personal method that Lambert used to organise his message to his readers. Just as Lambert happily copied and reorganised texts and images within the *Liber Floridus* to make the statements and give the impressions that he wished, so Lambert used and adapted the Beatus structure for his own purposes. Other studies that have attempted to examine Lambert's themes within the *Liber Floridus* have often neglected to explore the actual reasons for these themes.[1] Penelope Mayo suggests that the *Liber Floridus* has a basis in Lambert's apocalyptic interest in the First Crusade, but gives no explanation of why this topic should be of such overriding importance to him.[2] Virginia Tuttle states that Lambert has used the structure of Beatus' Commentary on the Apocalypse as an overriding basis for the organisation of the *Liber Floridus*, because, she claims, Beatus' Commentary is in itself a reflection of the structure of the Church.[3] She stops short, however of saying why Lambert would want to suggest this connection, and why, of all the many works available to him (some of which would surely offer an alternative symbolic structure) he chose the Beatus Apocalypse. Tuttle goes on to suggest that Lambert deliberately hid his twelve-part structure in order to make his readers search through his work as they should search through the world for God.[4] In this justification Tuttle appears to be assuming that the internal structure of the *Liber Floridus* is more important to Lambert than the message he is trying to give to his

readers. At best, Tuttle is assuming that the structure and the message are the same thing.

It may well be true that the twelve-part structure of the Beatus Apocalypse provided an analogy with the symbolic Church, but this did not cause Lambert to give overmuch priority to maintaining the structure of his work.[5] The fifth of Tuttle's twelve sections bears no real resemblance to Beatus' work, but instead appears to be based on Rabanus Maurus' *Liber de Computo*, Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* and Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*.[6] Tuttle sees this as proof that Lambert's work is "precariously developed" and "unwieldy" and that its structure is "too rigid to serve the purpose".[7] In fact, Lambert is showing that he has the confidence to leave the prop of organisational structure behind him when it does not suit his purpose, just as he changes the traditional iconography of images such as *Christ between the Church and Synagogue* when it suits him.

Lambert's message is greater than his enthusiasm for the First Crusade, discussed by Mayo; it means more to him than his pride in his locality, explored in chapter 1; it comes above his love for charts and diagrams shown and it is more important than the use of structure from the Beatus Apocalypse, suggested by Tuttle. This is because it encompasses all of these. It is presumptuous to imagine that anything other than religion could be more important to a man who has dedicated his whole life and work to the Church, and it should not be surprising to find that consistent connection throughout the *Liber Floridus* is the author's Christian faith.

Lambert's work consistently suggests that he saw the whole world in the light of Christian faith, but the *Liber Floridus* is not merely a statement of Lambert's faith, nor is it merely a collection of writings and images that pleased this intelligent, religious man. Lambert had a reason for creating the *Liber Floridus*, above and beyond the obvious personal pleasure he took in his work. As discussed in chapter 1, Lambert claims that he has collected 'flowers of literature' to help the 'faithful bees' of his fellows (fol. 3v), but this was no indiscriminate floral harvest. Lambert carefully prepared a diet that he hoped would help his fellows towards salvation.

Those illustrations in the *Liber Floridus* that have a religious basis are rarely narratives of Biblical or hagiographical origin.[8] Instead they are bold, solid, static illustrations, more fitted to meditation than story-telling. When not dealing with religious topics, Lambert's images tend to be of more traditional appearance (for instance the picture of the Emperor Augustus) but even then they do nothing to turn the viewer from religious contemplation. Even the many complex flat plan diagrams are easily associated with the power and grandeur of God.[9] And although Lambert often deals with many classical ideas (for instance on the astronomical pages) he keeps strictly to sources fully accepted by the Christian canon.[10] Lambert seems to have little concern for his own salvation; his faith appears secure.[11] Instead, he teaches and exhorts his audience (which, as stated in chapter 1, he can only have expected to have been made up of other canons) by example and comparison. He endeavours not necessarily to prove

the existence of God, but to show how Lambert's fellows should accept God and should see the world with wonder, as Lambert did, and then make the right choices of faith. This was surely what Lambert saw as his greatest gift to his fellow man.

The way Lambert's view of the world is shown through his encyclopedic *Liber Floridus* reveals that he felt there were links between many different aspects of the world.[12] Some of these links are discussed in chapters 3-5. These connections provide an underlying order and unity to human understanding of the world, and thus are used to give an underlying order and unity to the structure of Lambert's world-encompassing work. Visual instances of this sense of comparison and contrast abound. Most of the illustrations in the *Liber Floridus* are of 'good' subjects and, as explained in chapter 3, in these cases comparison of similarity is paramount. Thus there is a strong similarity between Paradise (fol. 52r, plate 7) and Celestial Jerusalem (65r, plate 13)[13]. St Peter sits in Rome (fol. 168r, plate 17) with no less dignity than St Audomarus has (fol. 6v, plate 3) and just as the towers of Rome rise up behind St Peter, so the building of St Audomarus' own town rise up behind Lambert himself. Many of Lambert's illustrations are circular and/or symmetrical. Even if the purely diagrammatic images are discarded this is still striking.[14] All of the 'good' images are circular or symmetrical,[15] and this gives the *Liber Floridus* a striking inner coherency. Some of Lambert's most powerful visual messages originate in images where contrasts in appearance reflect contrasts in moral alignment. There are no 'bad' images in the *Liber Floridus* that exist without some

suggestion of the supremacy of 'good'.[16] This can be seen as including all the images in the *Liber Floridus*, not just those in my selection.[17] Typical examples (some of which are discussed in chapters 4 and 5) include the Minotaur in the Labyrinth (fol. 20r, plate 6). Although it is a dreadful monster associated with the Antichrist, the Minotaur is shown trapped in a world-Labyrinth of God's creation and under God's jurisdiction. The Revelations cycle, no longer extant but available in copies of the *Liber Floridus*,[18] showed, of course, the ultimate triumph of God against the evils of the world at the Last Judgement. The Devil riding Behemoth (fol. 62r, plate 10) and Antichrist riding Leviathan (fol. 62v, plate 11) are based, literally, on the text written below them. This text, and the pictures that precede the monsters, come from God's great speech in Job 38-41, when he declares supremacy over all these things. The tree of vices is obviously an inferior specimen in comparison to its twin tree of virtues (fol. 231v and 232r, plates 19-21) and is condemned by the axe and hatchet laid to its roots (Psalm 74:6). The illustration of *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* (fol. 232v, plate 22) is a difficult image to interpret, but even so, I feel that it fits within this schema of Good succeeding over Evil. Some form of judgement or punishment is certainly going on, and the figure of God, seated with drawn sword in majesty and judgement, is undoubtedly supreme. Even the cross painted over the text and on a yellow background (fol. 242r, plate 23) can be seen as the supremacy of Christianity over the 'evils' of Judaism.[19]

Finally, the last illustration in the *Liber Floridus* that contains an 'evil' image is that of *Christ between the Church and Synagogue* (fol. 253r, plate 1). The image of Ecclesia's triumph over Synagoga is therefore Lambert's ultimate vision of the triumph of good over evil, and it is Synagoga, not Antichrist and not the Devil that he shows as Christ's 'final' enemy. Although Synagoga can be linked with the other 'evil' images in the *Liber Floridus*,[20] it is this anthropomorphic and specifically anti-judaic image that Lambert chooses as Ecclesia's final conquest. This is the only illustration where a 'good' image is contrasted with a 'bad' image right on the same folio.[21] This picture forms the culmination of Lambert's imagery in the *Liber Floridus*.[22] Just as Revelations ends with glorious scenes of the triumph of the Lord (Revelations 19-22) and Book XII of Beatus' Commentary on the Apocalypse finishes with an interpretation of the same, so Lambert's illustration with its image of the triumph of the Church and its unprecedented setting on the Mount of Olives provides a similarly triumphant climax.

The fates of Ecclesia and Synagoga in *Christ between Church and Synagogue* therefore echo not only the philosophies shown through the book of Revelations, but also the ideals and philosophies woven through the *Liber Floridus* by Lambert of Saint-Omer. In this one image he brings our attention to the coming Apocalypse and stresses the need of following the Church in its acceptance of Christ as the method of salvation in contrast to the denial of Christ, symbolised by the Jews, and the rejection and damnation which must follow it. This is

possibly the most concise formulation of the benefits of Christian life in comparison of other, less worthy attitudes. Here, for the only time outside the apocalypse cycle, we see the mouth of hell that is to be the fate of those who do not follow God. By the side of Ecclesia, however, there is not another image of Paradise or Celestial Jerusalem as shown elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus*,[23] but a baptismal font. This font is not so much a symbol of those who have already gained salvation, but of the possible salvation still available to everybody else. This crucial difference shows that Lambert showing us what must inevitably happen, but is exhorting us to follow the correct path. Lambert is not talking coldly and objectively, at a distance from his audience, but is speaking personally and individually to his fellows. He is not saying that the options of salvation and damnation are already closed, but is claiming that even at the last moments, with Christ triumphant on the Mount of Olives, salvation is still available to those who choose to recognise Christ.

Viewed in this light, the *Liber Floridus* is not a bald statement about the world and what will happen to it, but an exhortation to its people to both prepare them for, and to reassure them about what is to come. Lambert does not use complex analogies for Church and Synagogue. Instead he uses personifications which present a human, didactic image to the reader/viewer. A more direct reading of Revelations 18-22 might suggest a portrayal of the subject comparing a negative image of the city of Babylon and a positive illustration of the city of Jerusalem. This city allegory would have less impact on the

viewer than a human equivalent. Salvation then is shown as resting firstly on a matter of simple human choice. Baptism is a matter of choice, as is the leading of a Christian life afterwards. In opposition, Synagoga represents the Jewish faith which, in the medieval mind of Lambert, is the ultimate example of making the wrong choice. Indeed, Synagoga and the Jews in general were seen as deliberately choosing to make that wrong choice.

Lambert is showing the world, especially the religious world, to the viewer in clearly defined and opposing terms of good and evil. In this he is using the common medieval logic tool of dialectics which was used in the *disputatio* pieces, many of which involved a confrontation between a representational Christian and a representational Jew. Some of the most popular of these in the early twelfth century were written by Gilbert Crispin, and were considered important and relevant by Lambert, who included them in the *Liber Floridus.*[24] As discussed in chapter 4, Lambert was excited by the use of dialectic *disputatio* to show duality in a written form.[25] His pictures form the visual counterpart to this. In them he strives to give a representational image of the opposing subject, while at the same time including enough evidence (sometimes in the written tags) to provide a refutation. Thus it is that Lambert's 'evil' images are not unnecessarily grotesque but contain in their fine detail many clues and characteristics to prove the subject's affiliation and its inferiority to its 'good' counterpart. This is in the same way that the opposition in a *disputatio* may speak

pleasantly but show their true status in the fallacious or heretical things they say. Thus the Antichrist described in chapter 4 is at first appearance handsome and noble, similar to Christ; but he blesses with his left hand, a sign of his opposition to Christianity, and he is seated not on a throne like St Peter (plate 17), or a rainbow like St Audomarus (plate 3), but on the tail of the monster Leviathan (plate 12).

The crucial point in a dialectic argument is the point of realisation. In *disputatio* pieces, this is usually achieved in one of two different ways. In the first type, one opponent concedes to the other. In the second type, it is left up to the spectator, even though the argument is usually so much in favour of one side that the choice is obvious. Lambert's work can be seen as providing a composite of these two types. As stated above, Lambert always shows an 'evil' image in such a way that it appears subordinate to good, or inferior to a 'good' equivalent. Lambert then makes up our minds for us by presenting us with a choice containing only one viable option, but there is a further, higher sense of choice and judgement within the *Liber Floridus*. The viewer's choice is made upon reflection of the information and images presented to them. A judgement is then made upon the viewer by God as a result of this choice. This in many ways is Lambert's most earnest message. His images provide not only a choice of the righteous path in life, but consistently dwell upon the ultimate results of that choice. Thus in the *Dream of Nebuchadnezzar* God is shown in a traditional judgemental pose, with drawn sword, while the inscription summarises how Nebuchadnezzar is judged

and punished for choosing not to recognise the supremacy of God. In the image of the Trees of Vices and Virtues, axes are set to the roots of the Tree of Vices, and the image is accompanied by Biblical texts on the judgement of good and evil.[26] In *Christ between Church and Synagogue* we see Christ at the end of time (he is on the Mount of Olives) actually in the act of judging between Ecclesia and Synagoga. A viewer of Lambert's work then makes his judgement with an image in front of him of what the consequences of that choice will be.

The interpretation of Lambert's iconography in this thesis can be considered in the light of the codicological evidence presented by Albert Derolez in his study of the autograph for the Belgian Royal Academy of Letters in 1978. Derolez's most important contribution was the discovery of a projected terminus for his encyclopedia dated around 1115 in what he describes as phase 7. Within these quires can be found the many of the illustrations of the *Liber Floridus* as interpreted in this thesis; the *Palm-tree*, the *Antichrist riding Leviathan*, the *Minotaur in the Labyrinth* and the *Apocalypse Depictus*. New additions, possibly 1115-16, include important historical chapters including the History of the Franks, an abridgement of Isidore's treatise against the Jews and the picture *Christ between Church and Synagogue*. Lambert's own portrait may be part of the additions made around 1118-20. Derolez notes that Lambert's interest in theology and religion had grown much stronger in these later years, demonstrating how Lambert continues to augment the history of Flanders and discovered the encyclopedia *De Rerum Naturis* of Rabanus Maurus

(although too late for it to have any major influence upon the contents of the *Liber Floridus*. Even in the final stages of 1120-21, the earlier themes were still being supplemented, such as the semi-theological dialogue with Malchus on fol. 10v.

It is clear that the main themes of the illustrations selected were in place from the beginning, and that Lambert attempts to enlarge them and give them sharper focus by the addition of new texts and visual material. The thesis that Lambert laid a coherent visual choice before his brother is endorsed in Derolez's findings that the *Liber Floridus* originally did have a logical structure, obscured by Lambert's subsequent incessant alteration and additions as new material came to light. This thesis addresses the problem of how and why Lambert compiled his encyclopedia, and concentrates on the intention behind Lambert's compilation as a book designed to be used by his brethren.

[1] Apart from the studies mentioned below, one might consult E.M. Sandford, 'The *Liber Floridus*', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 26 (1940-41), which gives a competent but unanalytical overview of the manuscript as a whole. A. Derolez, *Lambertus qui Librum fecit*: een codicologische studie van der *Liber Floridus* - autograaf: (Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek handschrift 92), (Brussels, Paleis der Academiën, 1978), deals with the *Liber Floridus* in a codicological manner and suggests a scheme in which he admits "several points... remain hypothetic" (p.471). This gives the manuscript a primary historical and nomenclative structure which Lambert then altered by the addition of new material on different topics as his interests changed. It is outwith the bounds of Derolez' study to discuss how and why Lambert's interests were formed and then changed. There are also the various papers contained within the *Liber Floridus Colloquium* (A. Derolez (ed.) *Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers read at the International Meeting held in the University Library, Ghent, on 3-5 September 1967* (Ghent, E. Story-Scientia)). Most of these deal with specific aspects of the *Liber Floridus*, and only two look at the pictorial content as a whole. Of these, the summary of the paper by H. Bober ('The *Liber Floridus*: Structure and content of its imagery') states that the manuscript gave emphasis to the place of the First Crusade in history, but without asking why. The second paper, "Comments on the Figural Illustrations" by H. Swarzenski tends to look at the images from a stylistic point of view, and so does not address the inspiration behind their inclusion.

[2] P. C. Mayo, "Crusaders under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the *Liber Floridus*", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27 (1973), p.46.

[3] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the Structure of the "Liber Floridus"* (PhD. thesis, Ohio State University 1979), pp.384-5.

[4] V.G. Tuttle, 1979, pp.392-3. This theory of Tuttle's seems rather bizarre. Lambert states in his prologue to the *Liber Floridus* that he has compiled his work to help readers who find information over-awing and confusing. It seems unbelievable that he would then deliberately make his book difficult for them. Throughout her thesis Tuttle states again and again that the Beatus link is not hidden but, is obvious to see: "It seems clear that Lambert has constructed his second section as an analogue to Beatus' second book" (p.105), "There is clearly an alignment between the third book of the Beatus Apocalypse and Section Three of the *Liber Floridus*" (p.126) and so on. This is in direct contradiction to Tuttle's own Part III.

[5] Virginia Tuttle links Lambert's use of ecclesiological structure with Abbot Suger's self-documented symbolic designs at Saint-Denis (V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"* pp.385-392). However some of the basic principles behind the two creations are very different. Saint-Denis was an

abbey church, and so had a major role (that of a place of worship) to fulfill over and above any symbolic meaning. Further more it was a rebuilding, and so the symbolism was imposed by Suger onto an already existing object with an already accepted purpose. Lambert created the *Liber Floridus* from nothing, and it had no purpose other than that which he decreed. Lambert could have created many other types of books (for instance a Bible, a Psalter or one of many types of liturgical books). The entire realisation of the *Liber Floridus* then would have had to have been conscious and coherent from the start. One must be aware therefore that Suger's use of symbolism was supported by a practical purpose, and unless Lambert's work is to be viewed as simply an essay in pure symbolism, it must be accepted that he to had an underlying task that he wished to complete.

[6] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.182.

[7] V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, pp.394-5.

[8] The only exceptions to this are the Apocalypse cycle and possibly the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar, which conflates at least two separate incidents from the book of Daniel. Even then, both of these images still confront the viewer directly and require some form of spiritual reaction from the viewer .See also chapter 2.

[9] Lambert's incessant calculation of time and his linking of temporal units with other aspects of creation (for instance on fol. 23v where he connects the seven ages of the world with the seven metals, the seven hours of the day and the seven ages of man) demonstrates his belief in an organisation and purpose behind the universe. Even the symbolic Labyrinth of the Minotaur (fol. 20r, plate 6, see above) can be seen as an analogy for Man's journey through life.

[10] "Son choix restera d'un exclusivisme chrêtien strict." J.-M. De Smet, "La Mentalitê Religeuse du chanoine Lambert", *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, p.11.

[11] Tuttle suggests that Lambert has "apocalyptic fears" (p.395) but there is no real evidence in the *Liber Floridus* that Lambert was *afraid* of the coming apocalypse. In images such as *Christ between Church and Synagogue*, Lambert seems sure of what is right and wrong, and that all sins can be washed away. He never dwells on the torments of hell and even his illustrations of Antichrist and the Devil are approached boldly and implacably. Tuttle states that Lambert never "attempts to harmonise reason and faith" (V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.395), and this is because he sees reason and faith in perfect harmony. His work is dedicated to understanding the world through faith, not exploring faith through understanding.

[12] "Lambert perceived a series of widely ramifying connections between himself and world around him, which contributed greatly to the 'personalisation' of the image of the world in the *Liber Floridus.*" V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.20.

[13] C. Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. W. McCuaig, (Princeton 1991), p.13, claims that Lambert's illustration of Celestial Jerusalem is

directly derived from his image of Paradise.

[14] The great exceptions to this are Lambert's 'straightforward' illustrative cycles: The Apocalypse cycle, the bestiary cycle and the constellations cycle. Just about all of the remaining illustrations can be given directly symbolic readings.

[15] It may appear that the image of the Minotaur in the Labyrinth (fol. 20r, plate 6) is an exception to this. However it should be remembered that it is the Minotaur that is 'evil' and that it is held prisoner by the maze.

[16] Penelope Mayo states that "of all Lambert's allegorical trees, only the *Arbor Bona* exists without threat or defect." (P.C. Mayo, *Crusaders under the Palm*, p.55.) In order to make this acceptable, however, she has to make *nine* exceptions to this classification. She excludes the tree in Paradise (fol. 52v, plate 7) and the eight Beatitude Trees (fol. 139r-140r, plates 15 and 16). She claims that this is because "they are both scriptural, and typologically, manifestations of the Church in its purity." (P.C. Mayo, *Crusaders under the Palm*, p.55 n95.) This is somewhat open to question. The tree in Paradise is mentioned explicitly in scripture (Revelations 22:2 - "...on either side of the river, the tree of life") but the passage which forms the basis for the Beatitude Trees (Ecclesiasticus 24:13-17) also forms the basis for the Palm on Mount Zion. Penelope Mayo might perhaps claim that the Palm on Mount Zion suffers 'threat' (in the form of the list of vices around its top) or defect (the rough bark which makes it like "The Church amidst her tribulations" (Penelope Mayo, *Crusaders under the Palm*, p.37)). If this is to be the case then she still lacks a disclaimer for the bleak rocks of the outer world which push against the walls of Paradise and to explain why the vices facing the Tree of Virtues are discounted when the ones by the Palm on Mount Zion are not. Suffice to say that however well this theory fits Penelope Mayo's thesis it is not possible to accept it as conclusive.

[17] One of the most frustrating aspects of Penelope's Mayo's article *Crusaders under the Palm* is the topical restriction placed upon it by its author. The subtitle is "Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the *Liber Floridus*" which suggests that the botanical imagery can be taken as an individual program. In the article itself, Penelope Mayo says that the trees provide "a key to the medieval author's subtle and complex view of his time in history" (P.C. Mayo, *Crusaders under the Palm* p.34). However it is difficult to envisage how Penelope Mayo's theory, already quite thinly stretched for evidence, could be extrapolated over the whole manuscript. The Devil riding Behemoth (fol. 62r, plate 10) and Noah's Ark (fol. 208v plate 18) for instance, would be difficult to place in a schema based purely upon kingship in the First Crusade. Any theory regarding the *Liber Floridus*, therefore, should give good reasons why it only deals with some of the manuscript, or be flexible enough to cover the whole of the work.

[18] The earliest and most similar copy of the *Liber Floridus* is Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library, Ms. 1, and the Apocalypse illustrations are reprinted in the *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, 1973, figs 2-16 and discussed in the article by H. Swarzenski therein, (*Figural Illustrations* pp.27-9), where he states that Lambert's *Apocalypse* cycle probably derives from a Spanish version. See plates 27 and 28.

[19] This is discussed in V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.347 and in the section "The Jews" in chapter 5 above.

[20] The only other direct contrast of image with image is the trees of vices and virtues, which are not contained on one leaf of the manuscript but involve a comparison of two facing pages. Otherwise the image message is less confrontational (as in Nebuchadnezzar's Dream) or uses purely textual comparisons.

[21] In Part Two of her thesis, Tuttle defines Lambert's section XII as encompassing the fols. 242r-255v (V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"*, p.346). This would include the Church and Synagogue image on fol. 253r. In Part Three, however, she defines the same section XII as fols. 260r-311v. Although the Church and Synagogue image is outwith these folios, she still includes it in her explanation of section XII (V.G. Tuttle, *An Analysis of the "Liber Floridus"* p.383). Whatever confusion this may create, it cannot be denied that Lambert's *Christ between Church and Synagogue* is one of the final images in the *Liber Floridus*. It is the last 'symbolic' image, and the only 'factual' images that come after it are those of the church of Saint-Omer (fol. 259v) and of Saint Audomarus (fol. 260r). A. Derolez, *Lambertus qui Librum fecit*, p.478, claims that these final entries dealing with St Audomarus and his house were part of an early form of the Prologue, and were then transferred to chapter CLXXXIX around 1119-20. If this is the case, then the role of the image *Christ between Church and Synagogue* as a climactic illustration becomes even stronger.

[22] See "Synagoga" in chapter 5 above.

[23] Fol. 52v (plate 7) and fol. 65r (plate 13).

[24] Gilbert Crispin wrote the *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani* and the *Disputatio Christiani cum Gentili* sometime between 1085 and 1114, making him a contemporary of Lambert's. Lambert therefore did not copy these works from any traditional encyclopedic canon, but made an bold and individual decision to include them. See Y. Lefèvre, "Le Liber Floridus et la littérature encyclopédique au moyen âge", *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, p.6.

[25] Dialectics and the *disputatio* formula are both discussed in chapter 4 above.

[26] For instance "*Johannes Baptista iam securis ad radicem arboris posita est*" (John the Baptist says: now an axe has been laid to the root of the tree) in reference to Matthew 3:10 "Even now an axe is laid to the root of the trees; every tree therefore that does not bear fruit is cast down and thrown into the fire."

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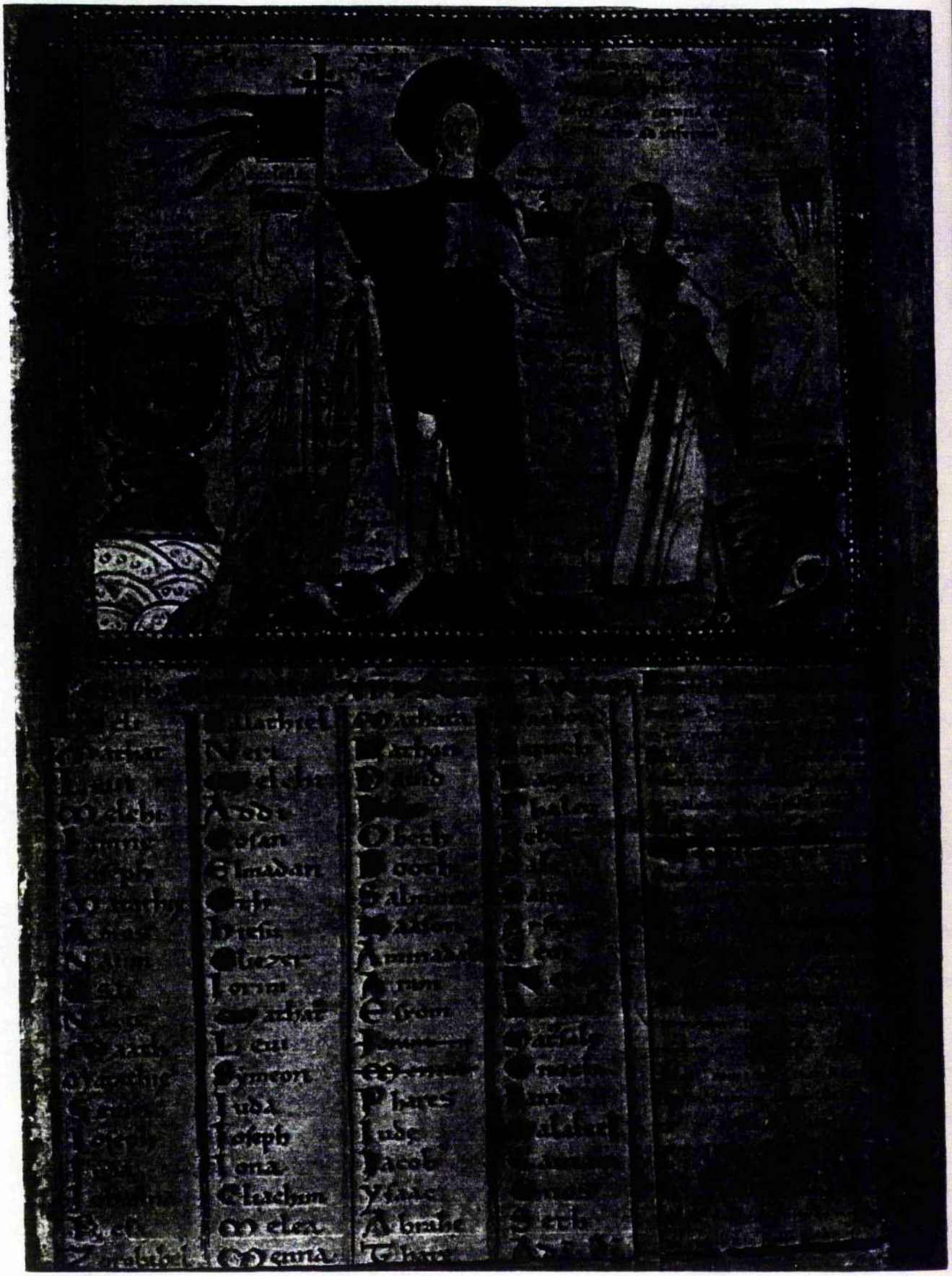

Plate 1. *Christ between Church and Synagogue: Liber Floridus*, Ghent University Library, Ms. 92 (henceforth *Liber Floridus*) fol. 253r

Plate 2. *Christ between Church and Synagogue*, detail; *Liber Floridus*, fol. 253r

Plate 3. *St Audomarus: Liber Floridus*, fol. 8v

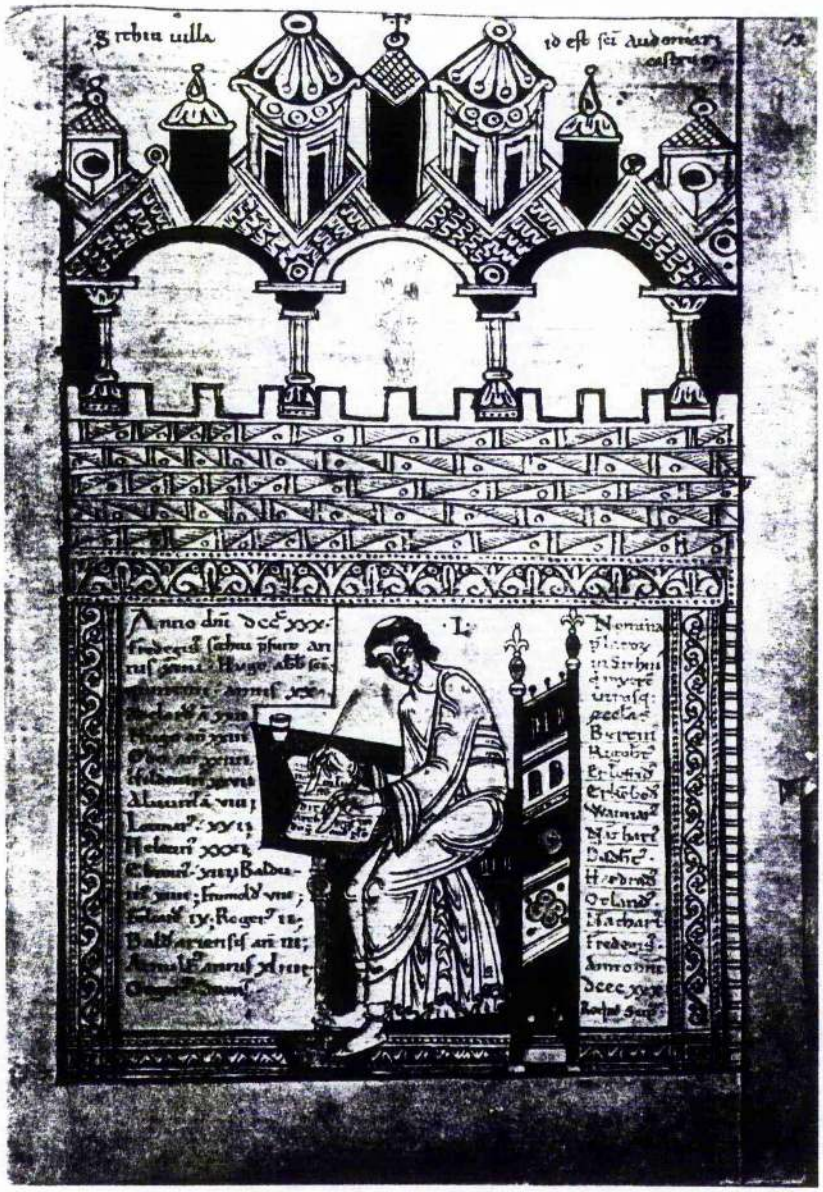

Plate 4. *Saint-Omer: the author at work; Liber Floridus,* fol. 13r

Plate 5. *Saint-Omer: the author at work*, detail; *Liber Floridus*, fol. 13r

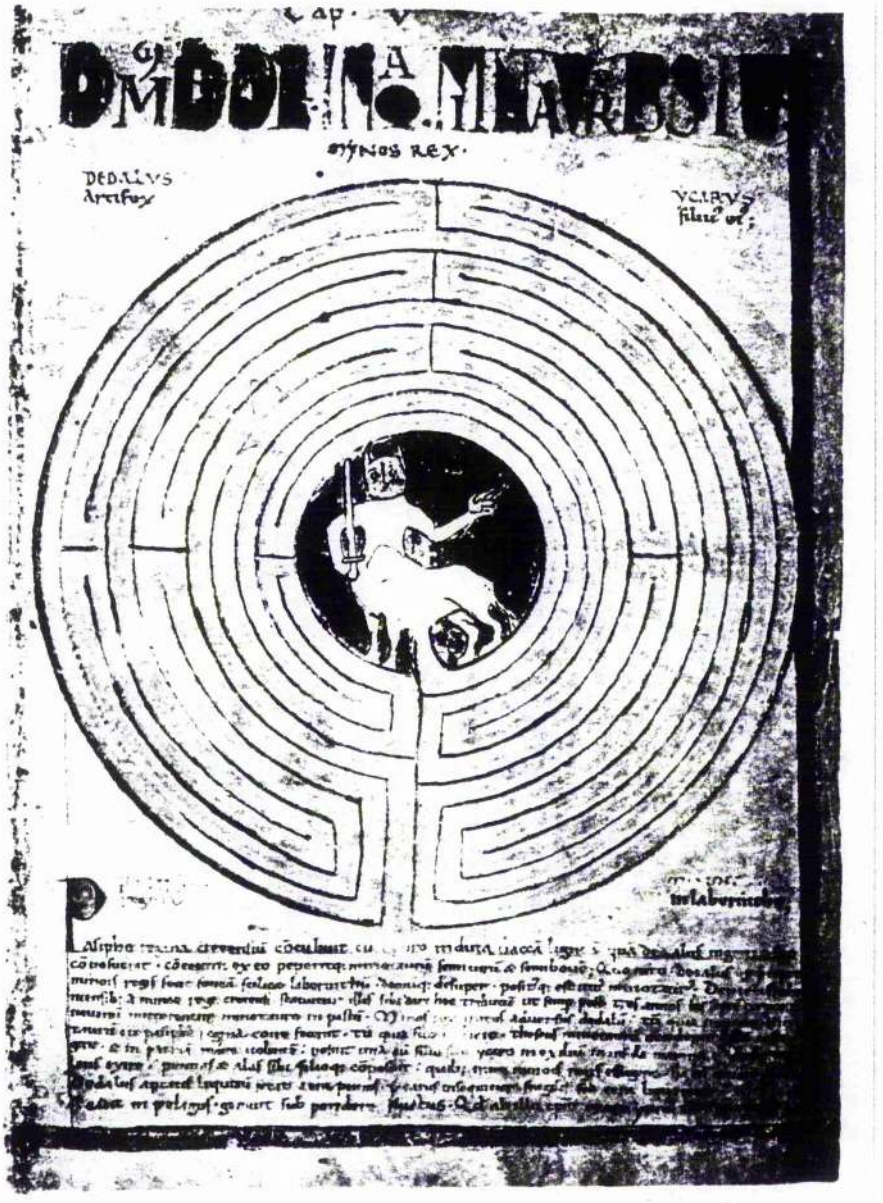

Plate 8. *The Minotaur in the Labyrinth: Liber Floridus*, fol. 20r

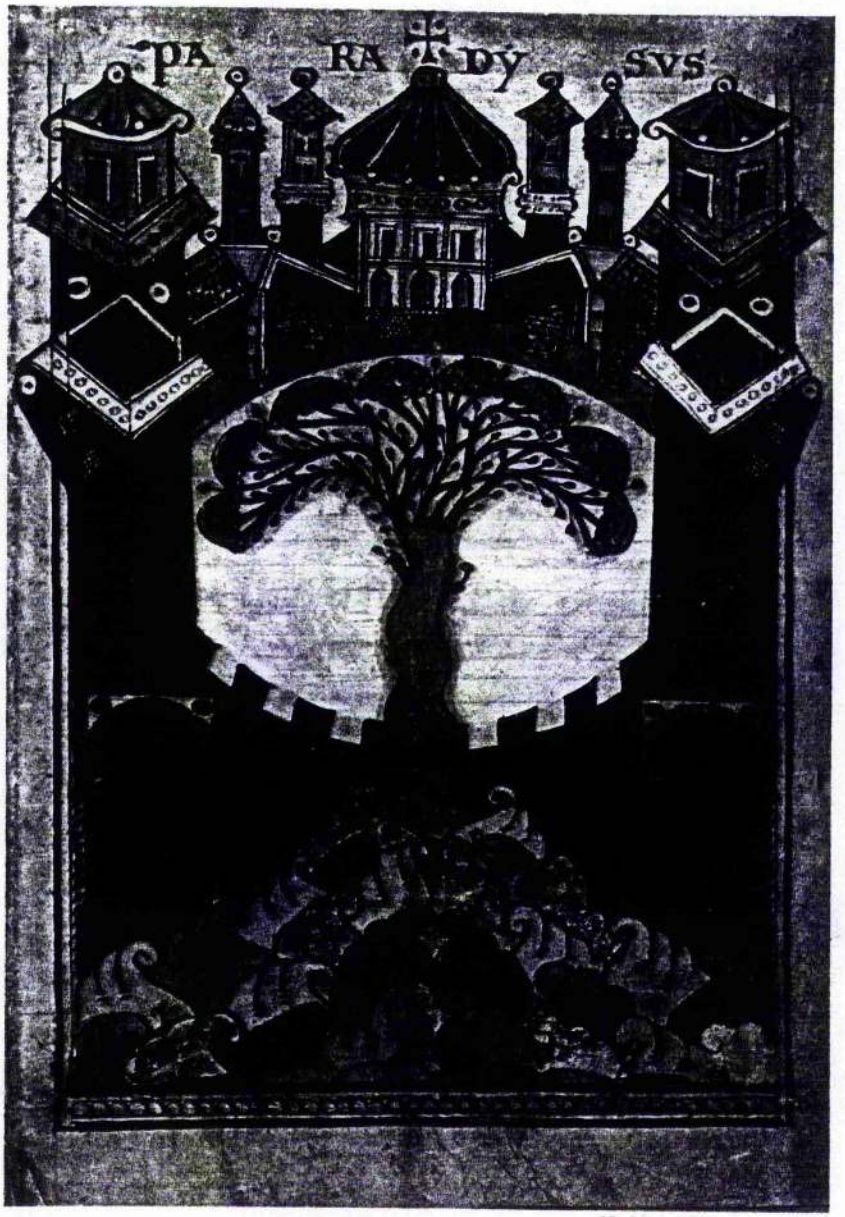

Plate 7. *Paradise*; *Liber Floridus*, fol. 52r

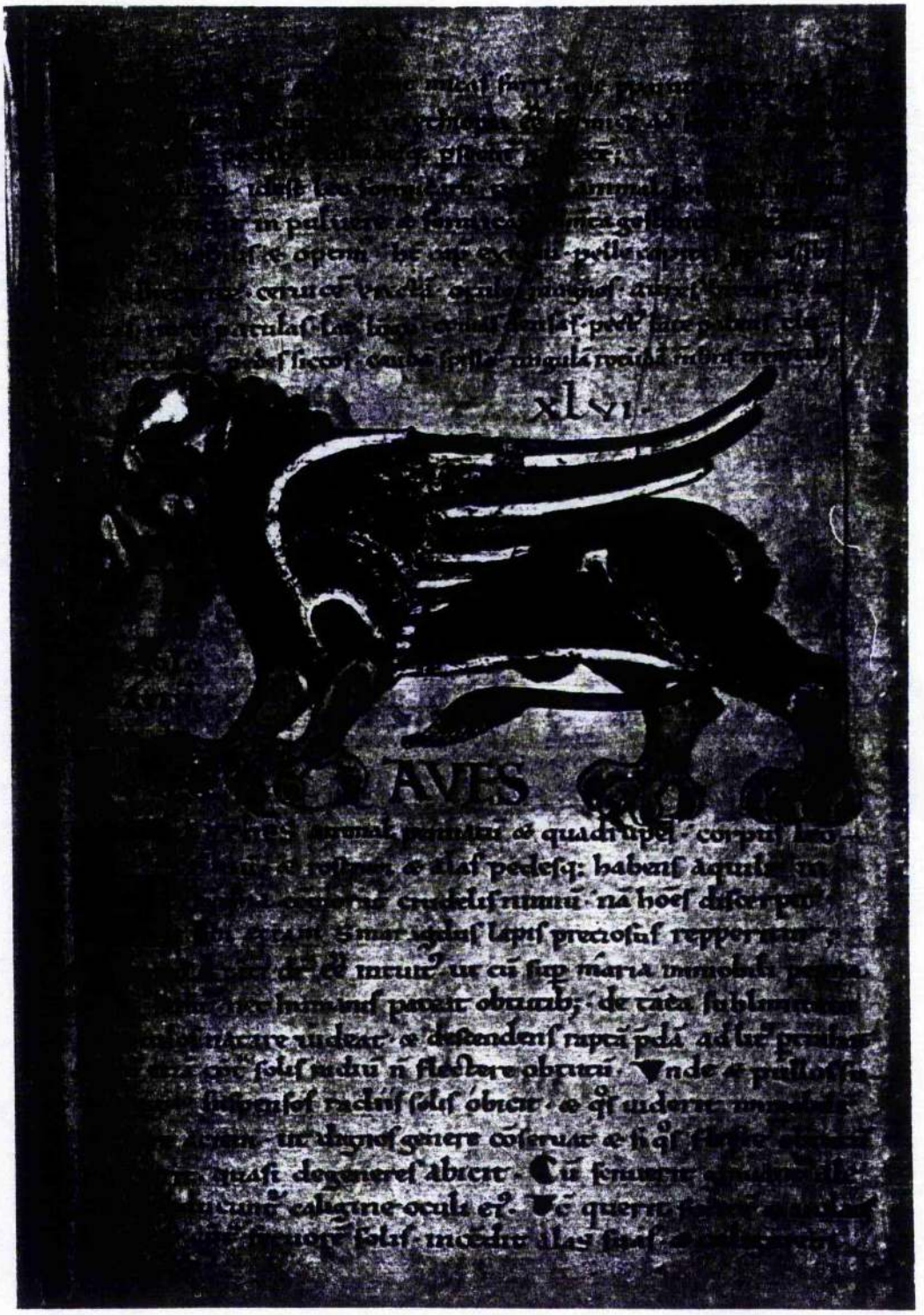

Plate 3. *Griffin: Liber Floridus*, fol. 58v

Plate 9. *Crocodile; Liber Floridus*, fol. 61v

Plate 10. *The Devil Riding Behemoth*; *Liber Floridus*, fol. 82r

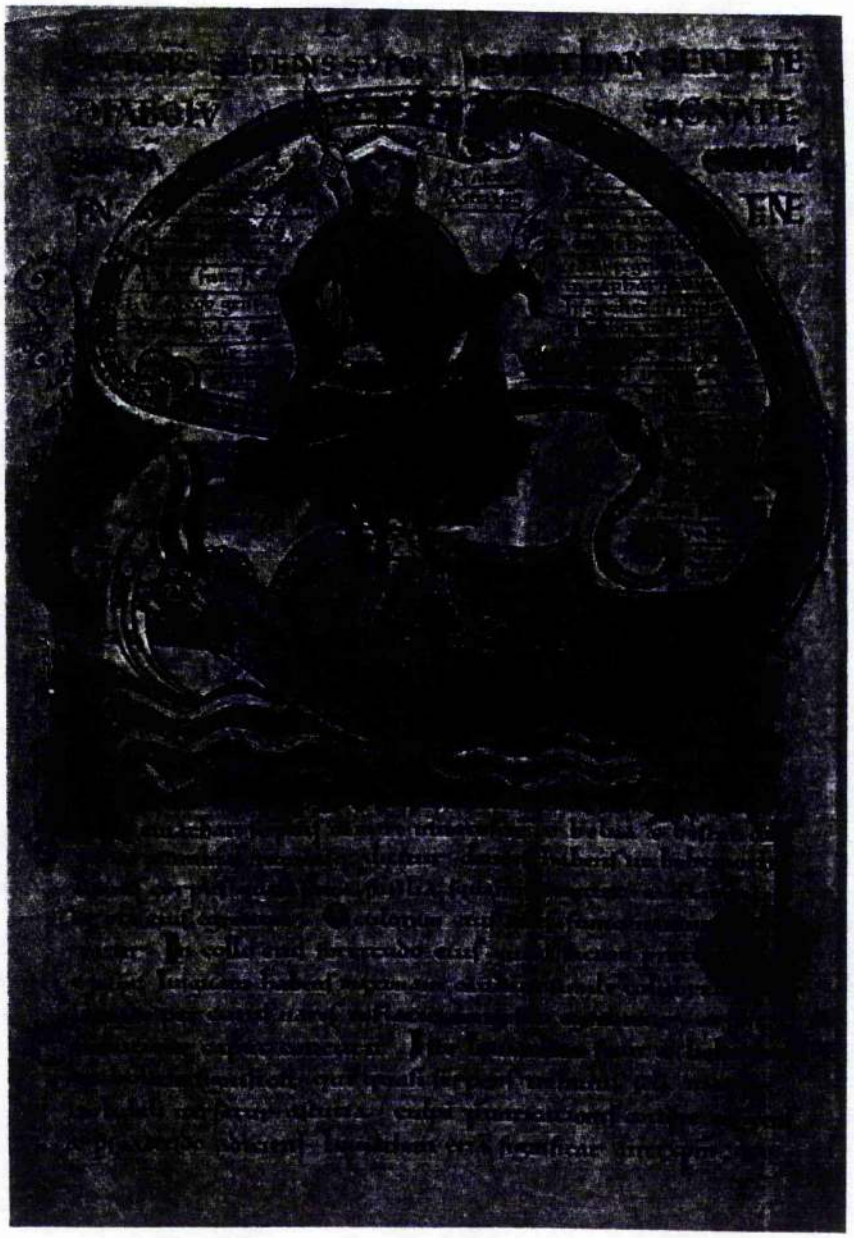

Plate 11. *Antichrist Riding Leviathan; Liber Floridus*, fol. 62v

Plate 12. *Antichrist Riding Leviathan*, detail; *Liber Floridus*, fol. 82v

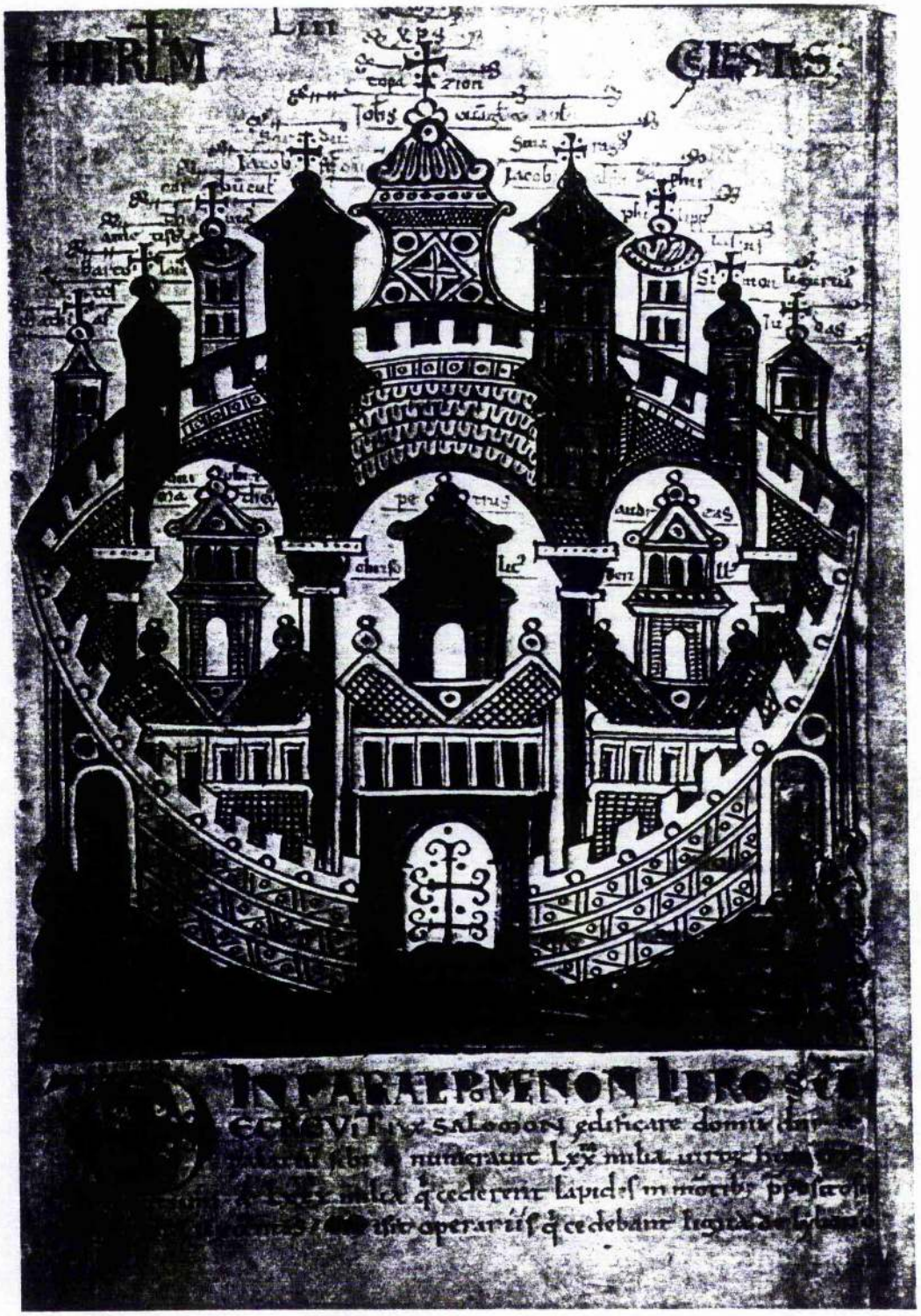

Plate 13. *Heavenly Jerusalem: Liber Floridus*, fol. 65r

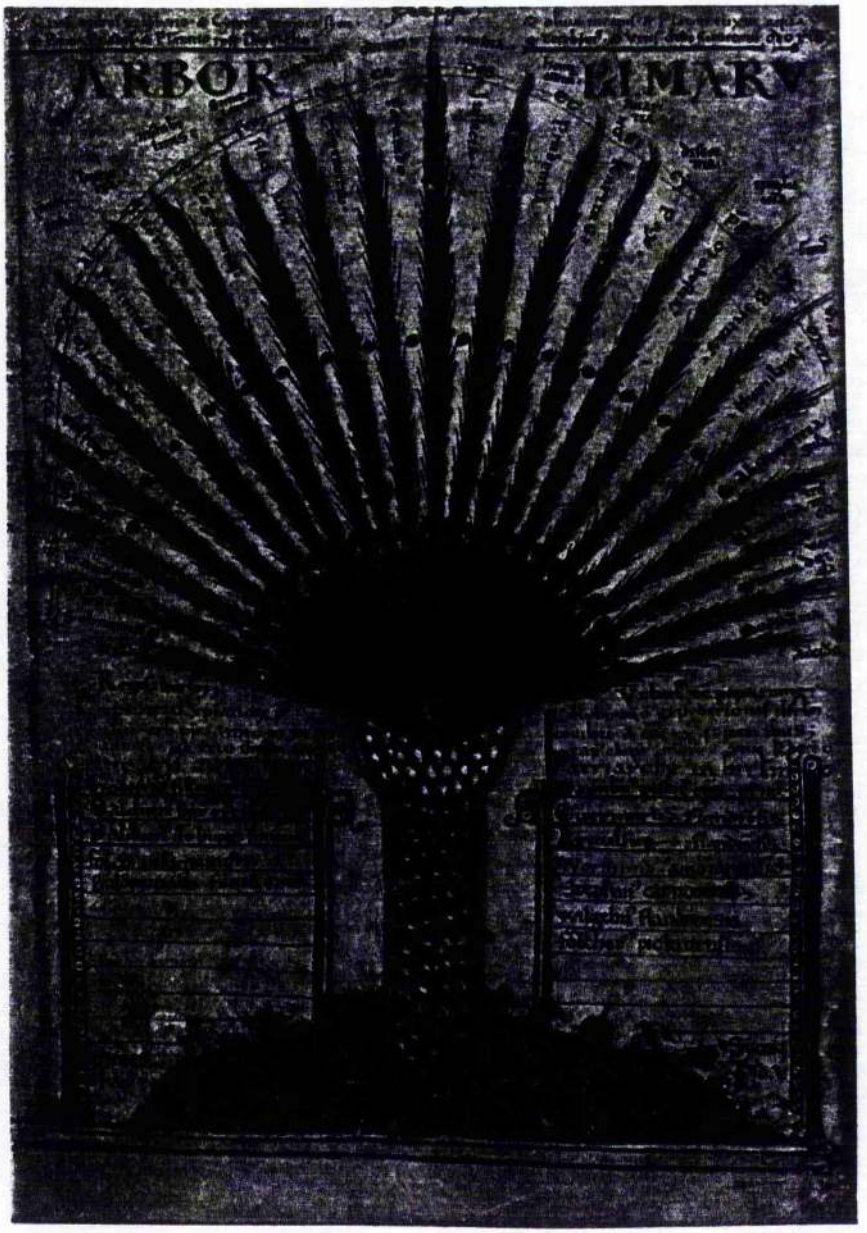

Plate 14. *Palm-tree*: *Liber Floridus*, fol. 76v

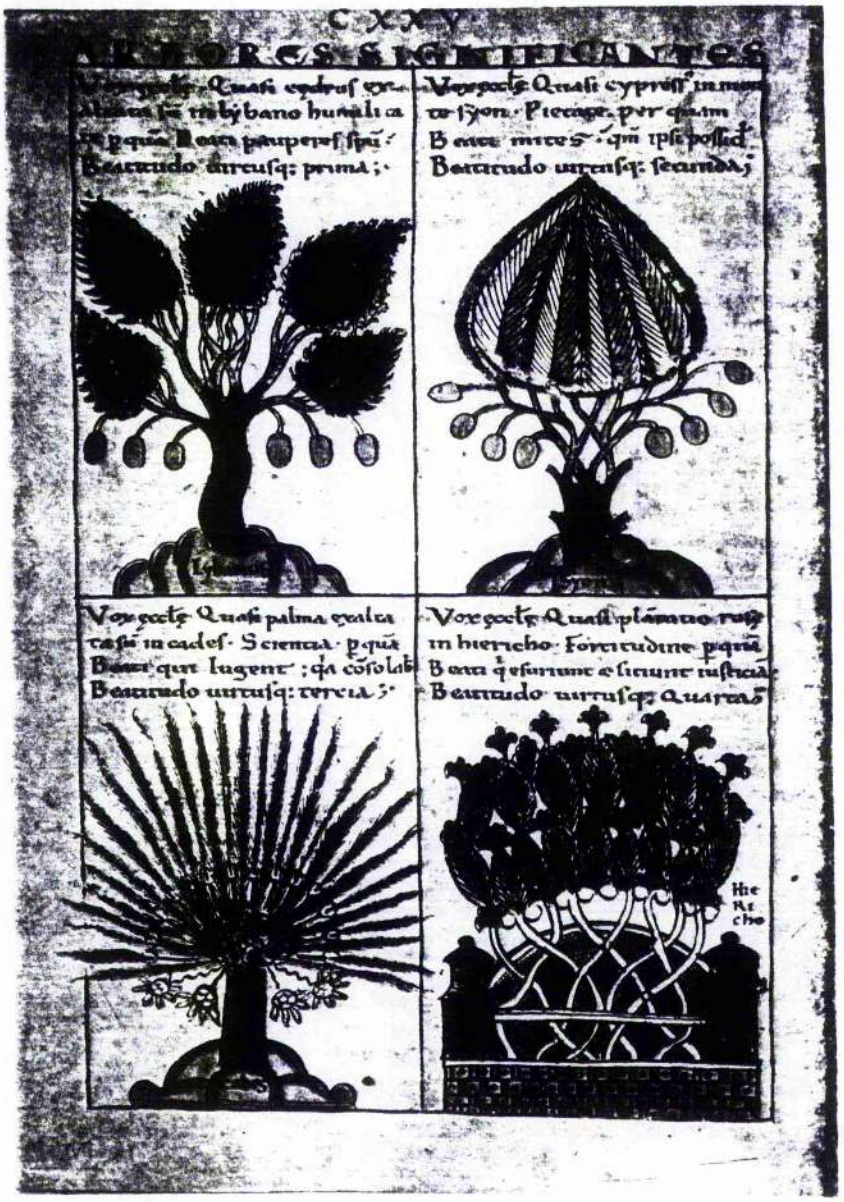

Plate 15. *Beatitude Trees I*; *Liber Floridus* fol. 139v

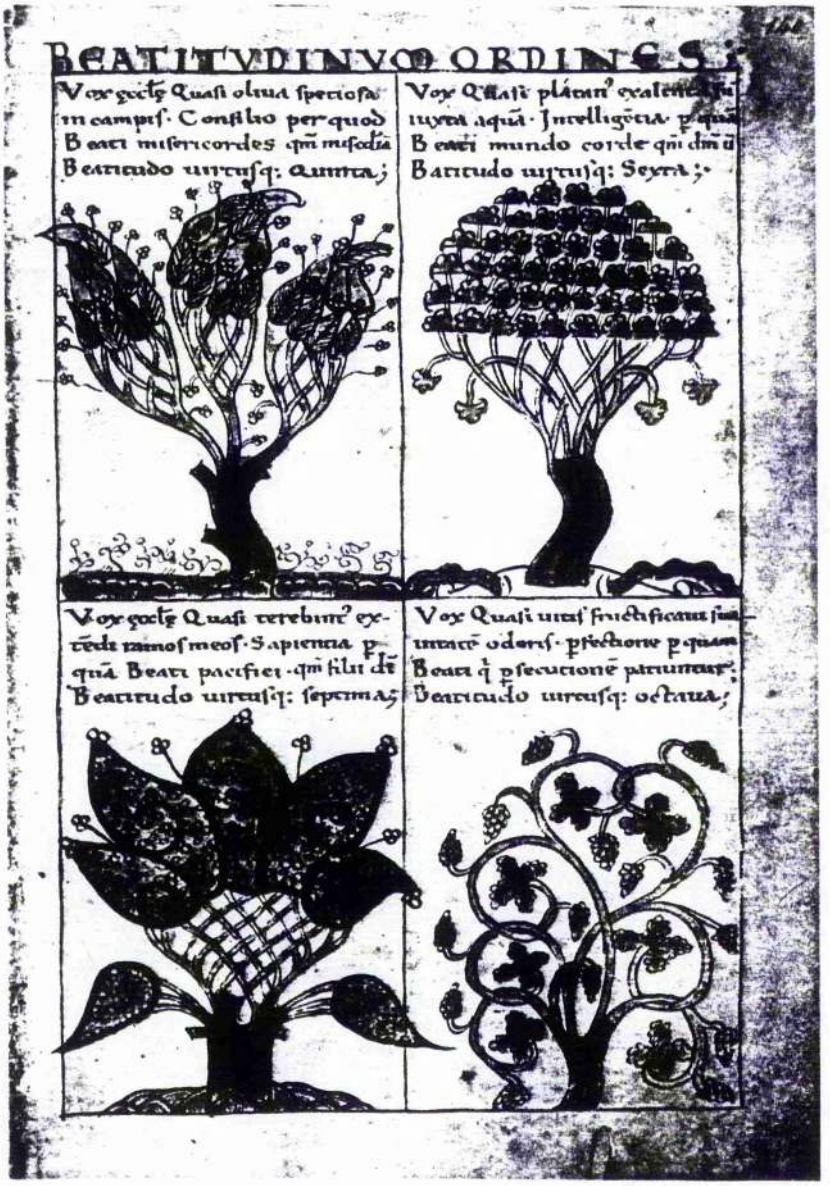

Plate 16. *Beatitude Trees* II: *Liber Floridus*. fol. 140r

Plate 17. *Rome and St Peter*: *Liber Floridus*, fol. 182r

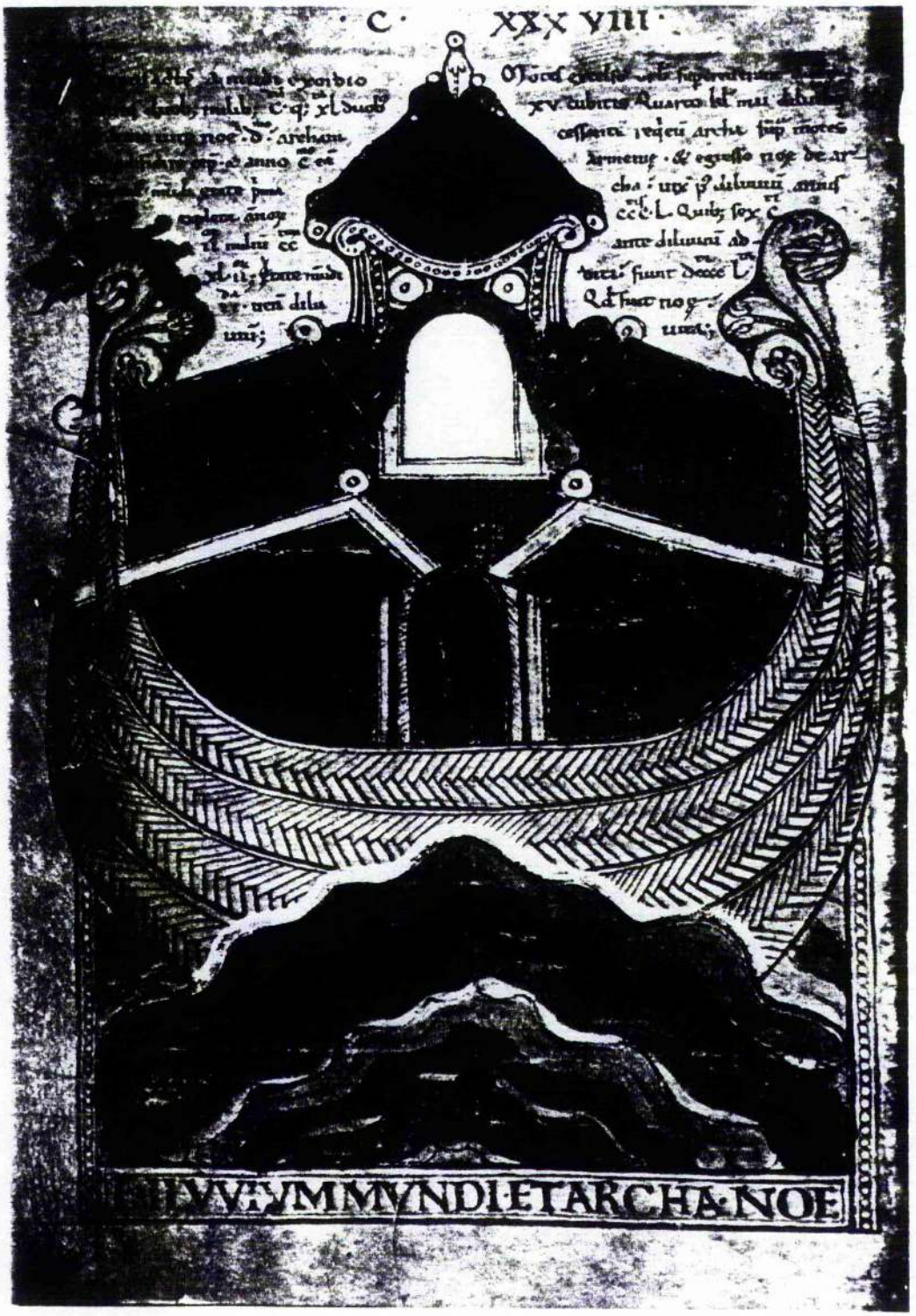

Plate 18. *Noah's Ark*: *Liber Floridus*, fol. 208v

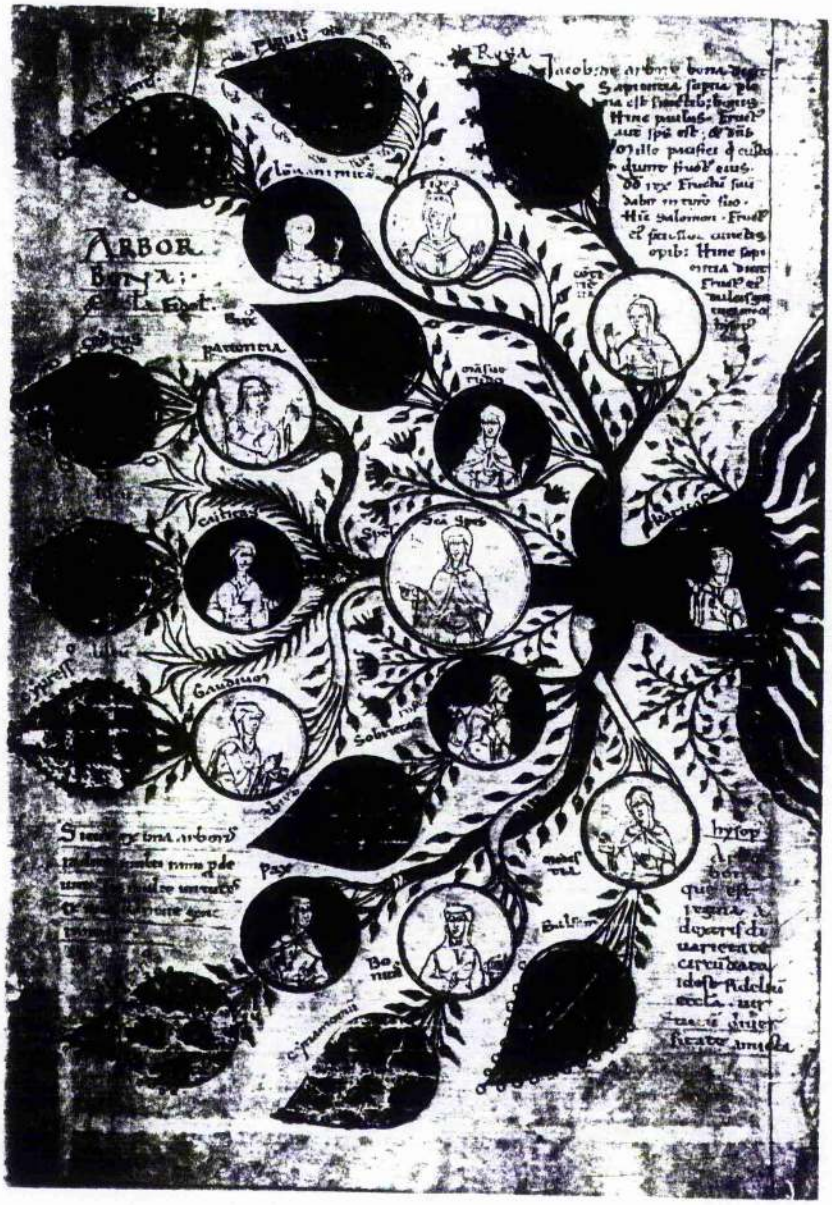

Plate 19. *The Tree of Virtues*: *Liber Floridus*, fol. 231v

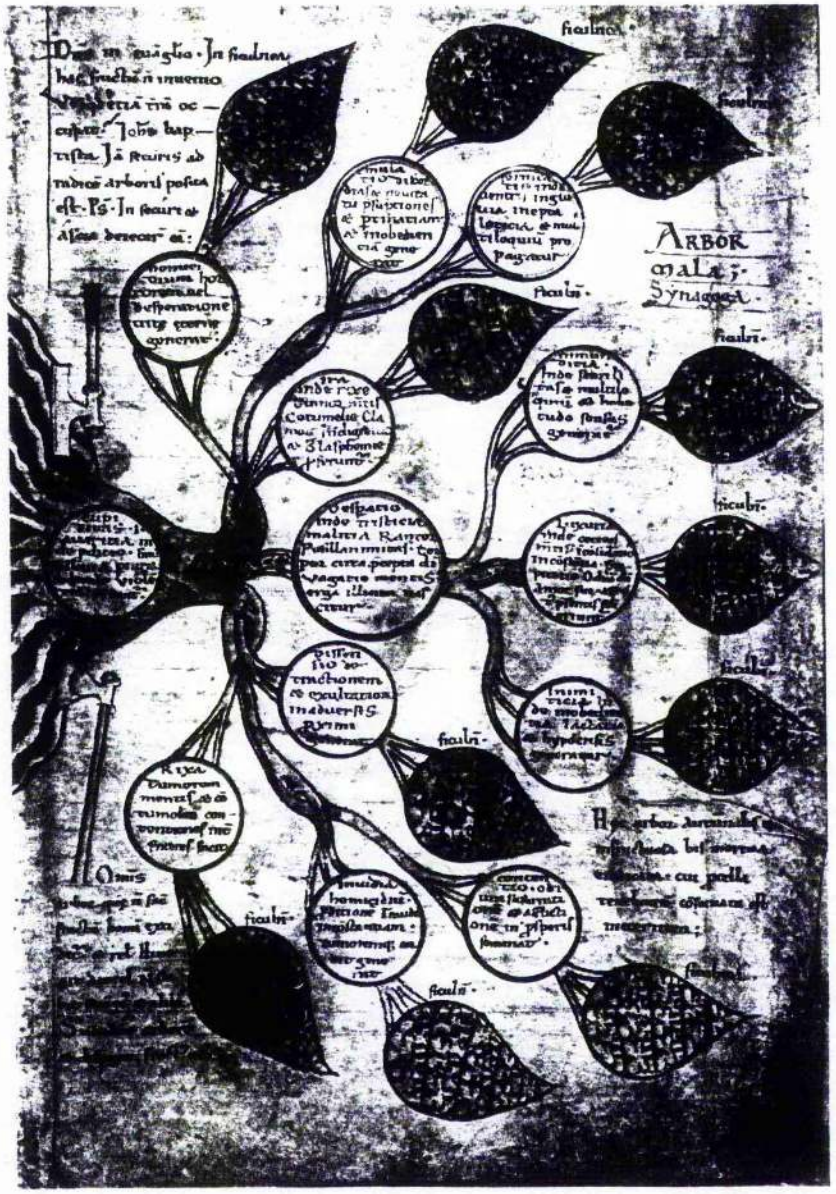

Plate 20. *The Tree of Vices*; *Liber Floridus*, fol. 232r

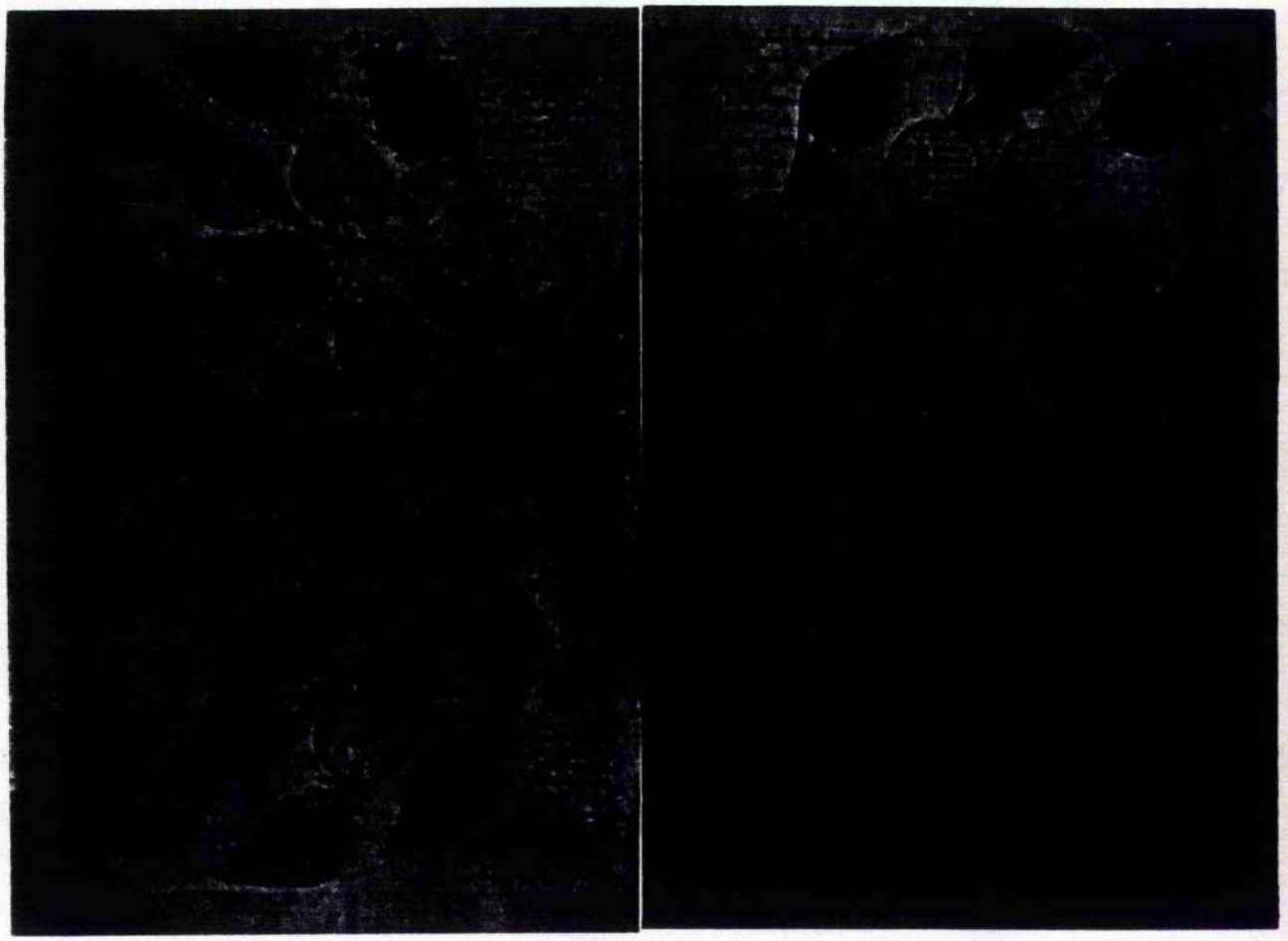

Plate 21. *The Trees of Virtues and Vices*; *Liber Floridus*, fols. 231v and 232r

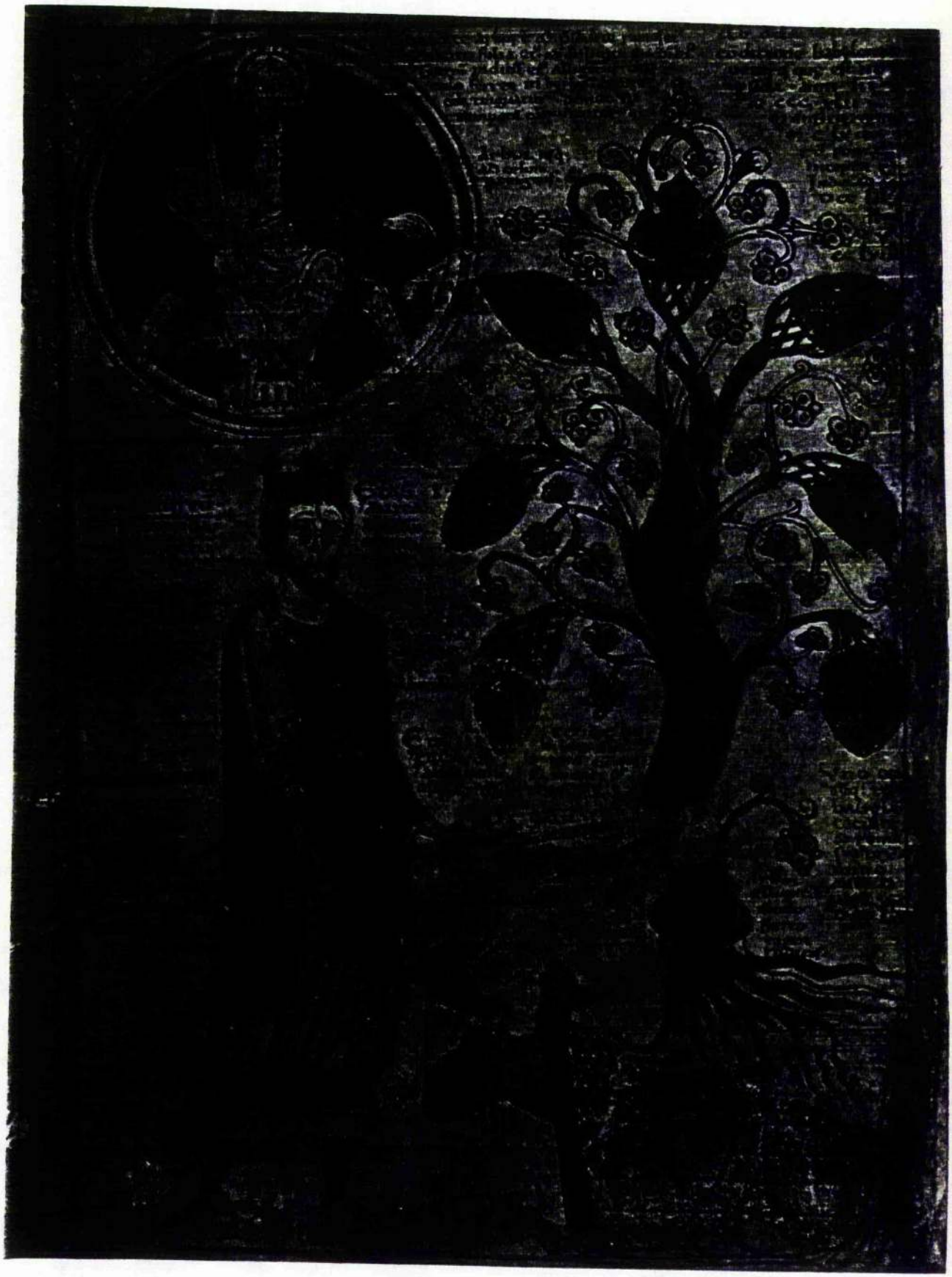

Plate 22. *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: Liber Floridus*, fol. 232v

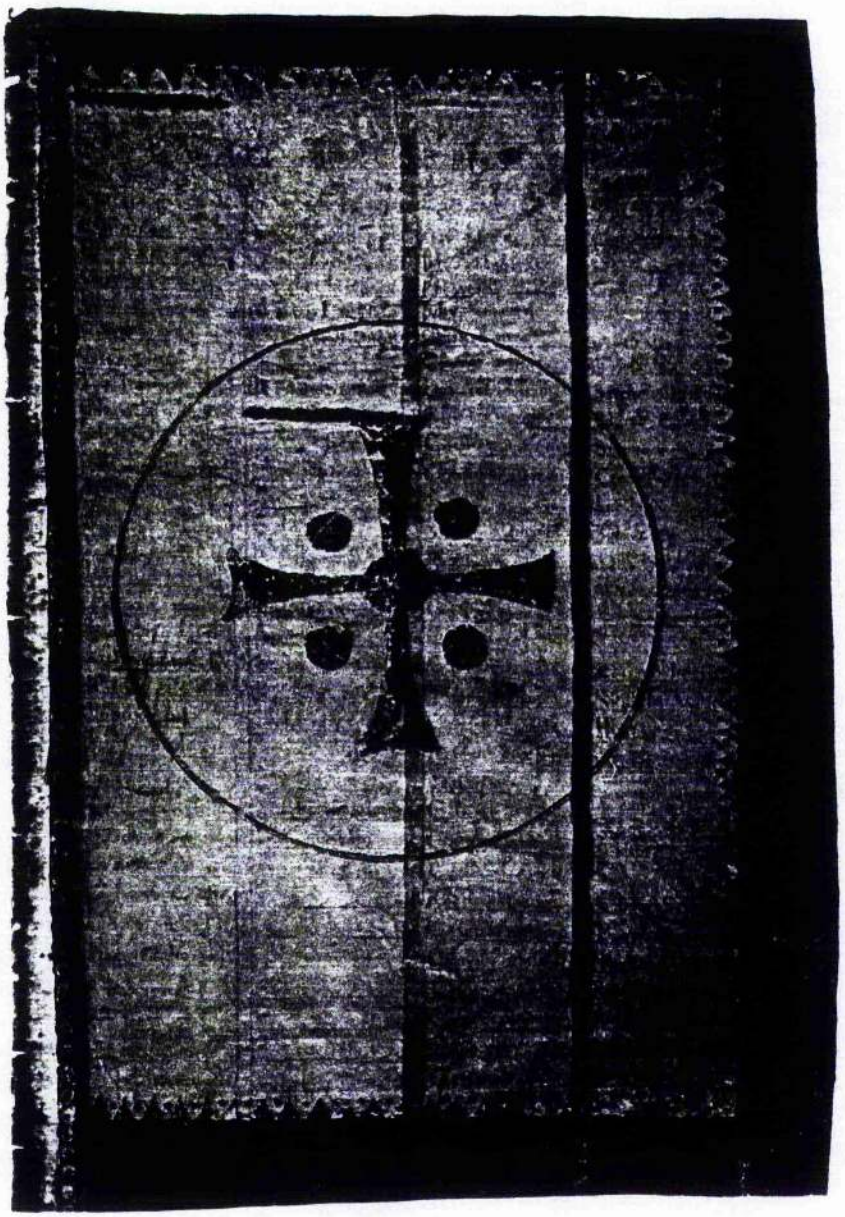

Plate 13. Cross (painted over text): *Liber Floridus*, fol. 242r

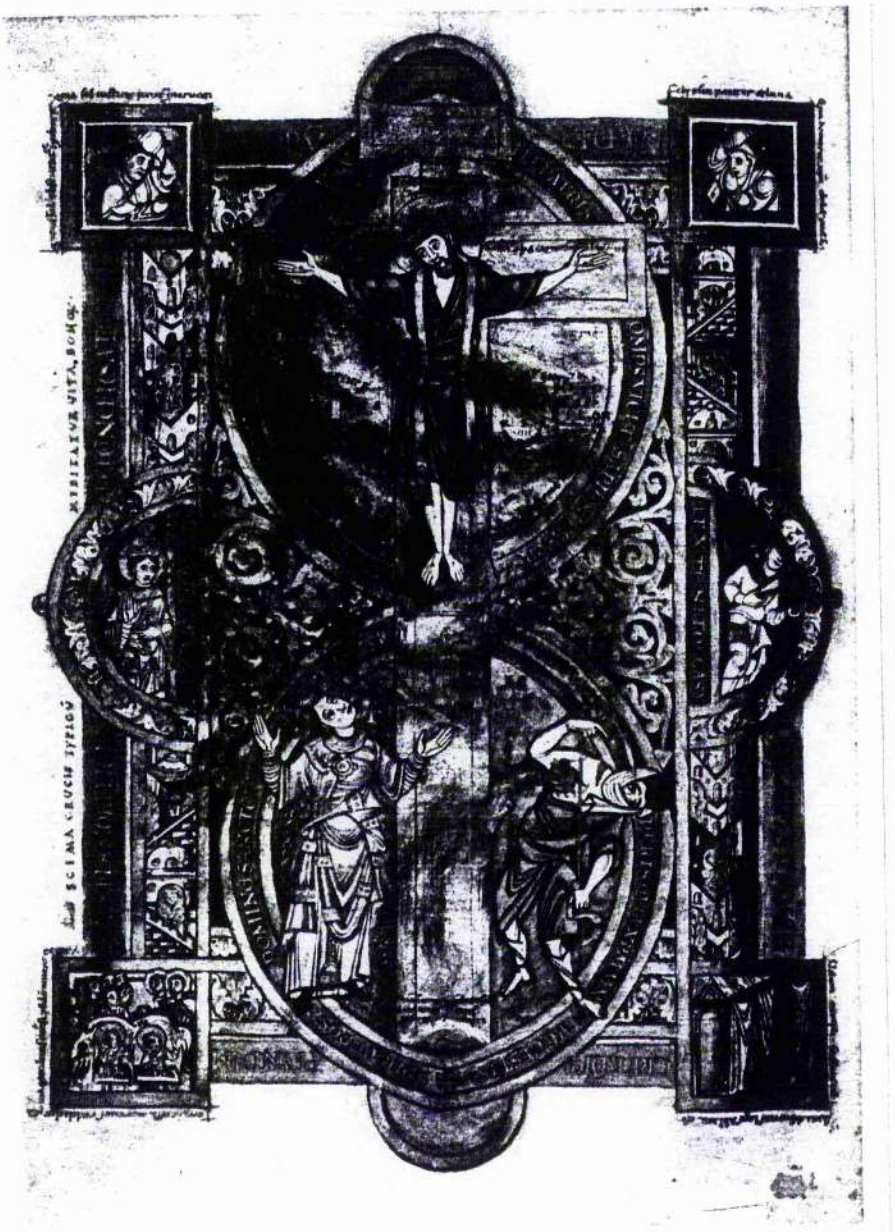

Plate 14. *The Crucifixion*; Uta Codex, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm. 13601, fol. 8v

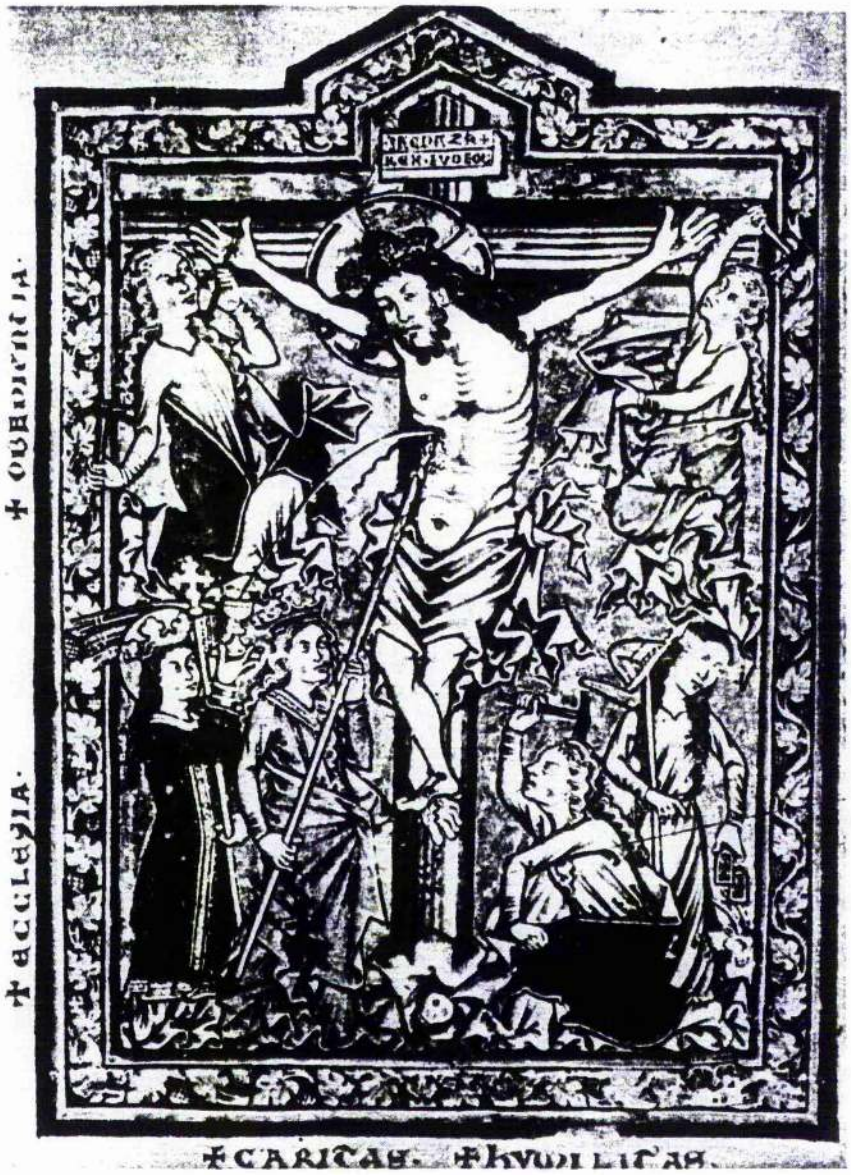

Plate 25. *Virtues crucifying Christ*; Besançon, Bibl. Mun.

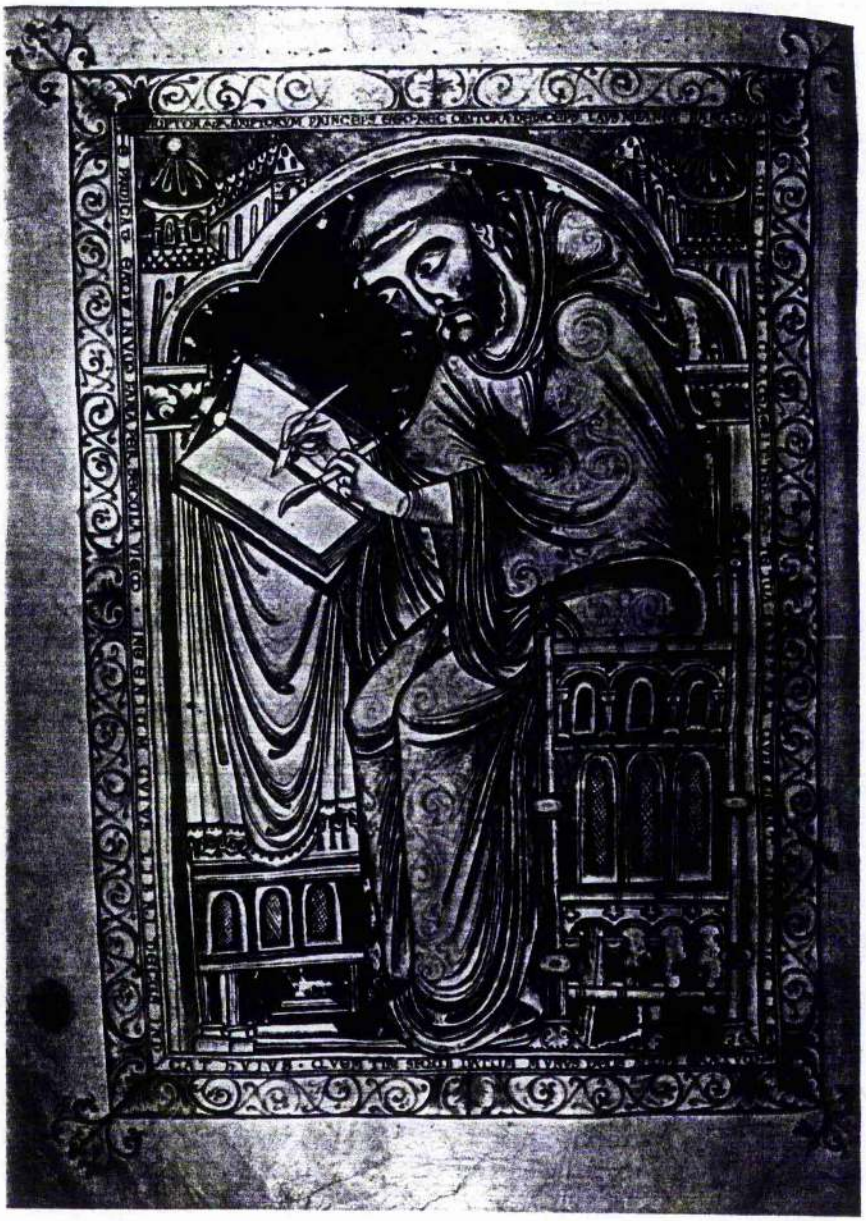

Plate 26. *Author Portrait*; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17.1 (987) fol. 238v

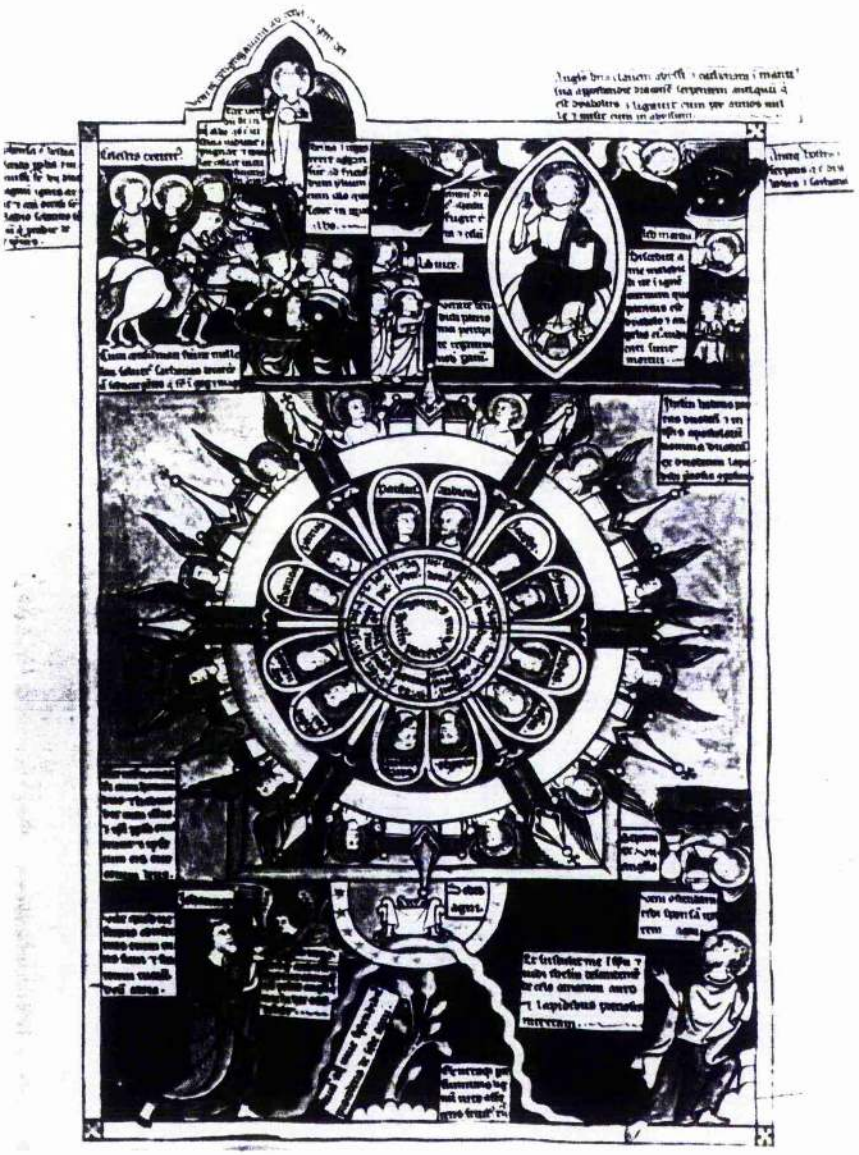

Plate 27. *Revelations 19-22*: Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 8865, fol. 42v

Plate 28. *Sedes Sapientiae*: Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library, Ms 1. fol. 9r

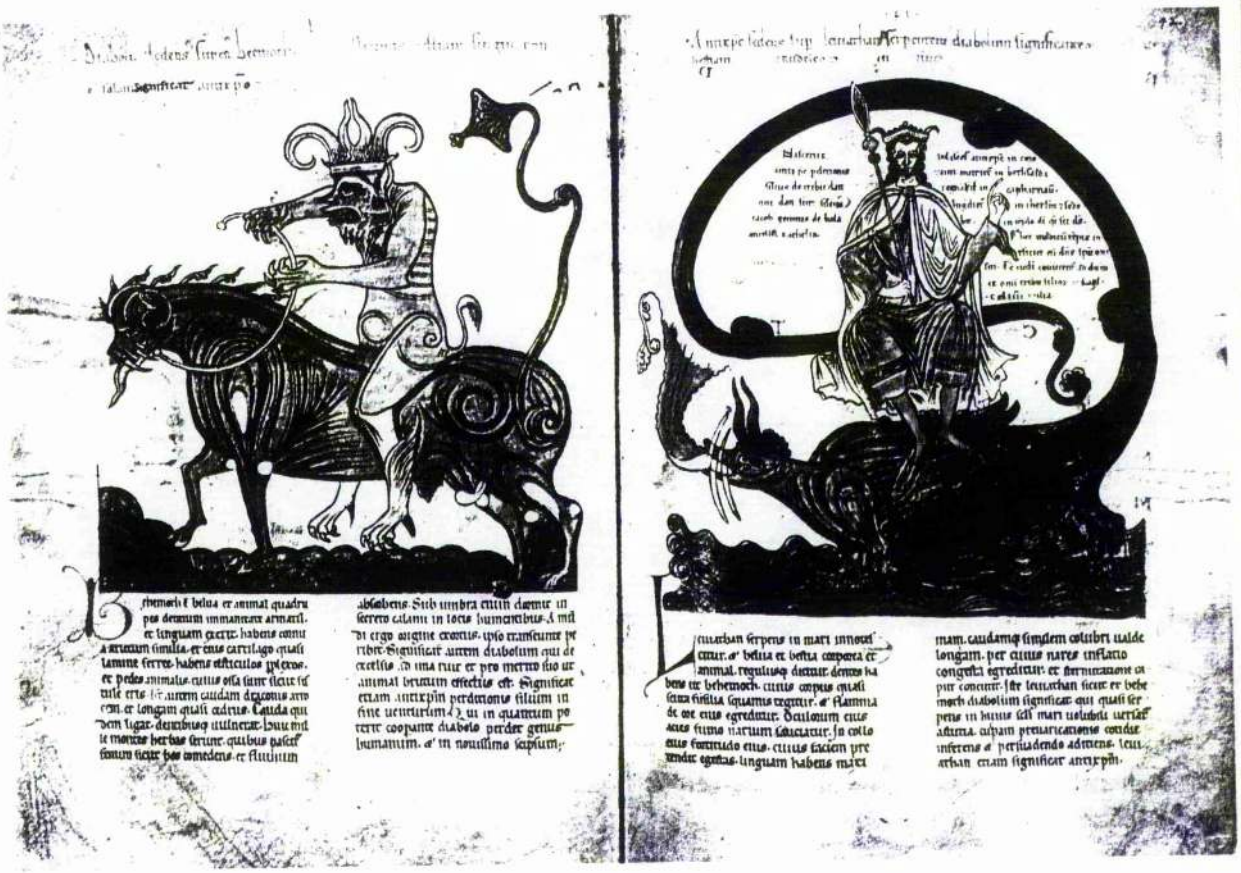

Plate 29. *The Devil Riding Behemoth* and *Antichrist Riding Leviathan*: Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library, Ms 1, pp.50-1

Plate 30. Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo*: Monte Cassino. MS. 132, p.198

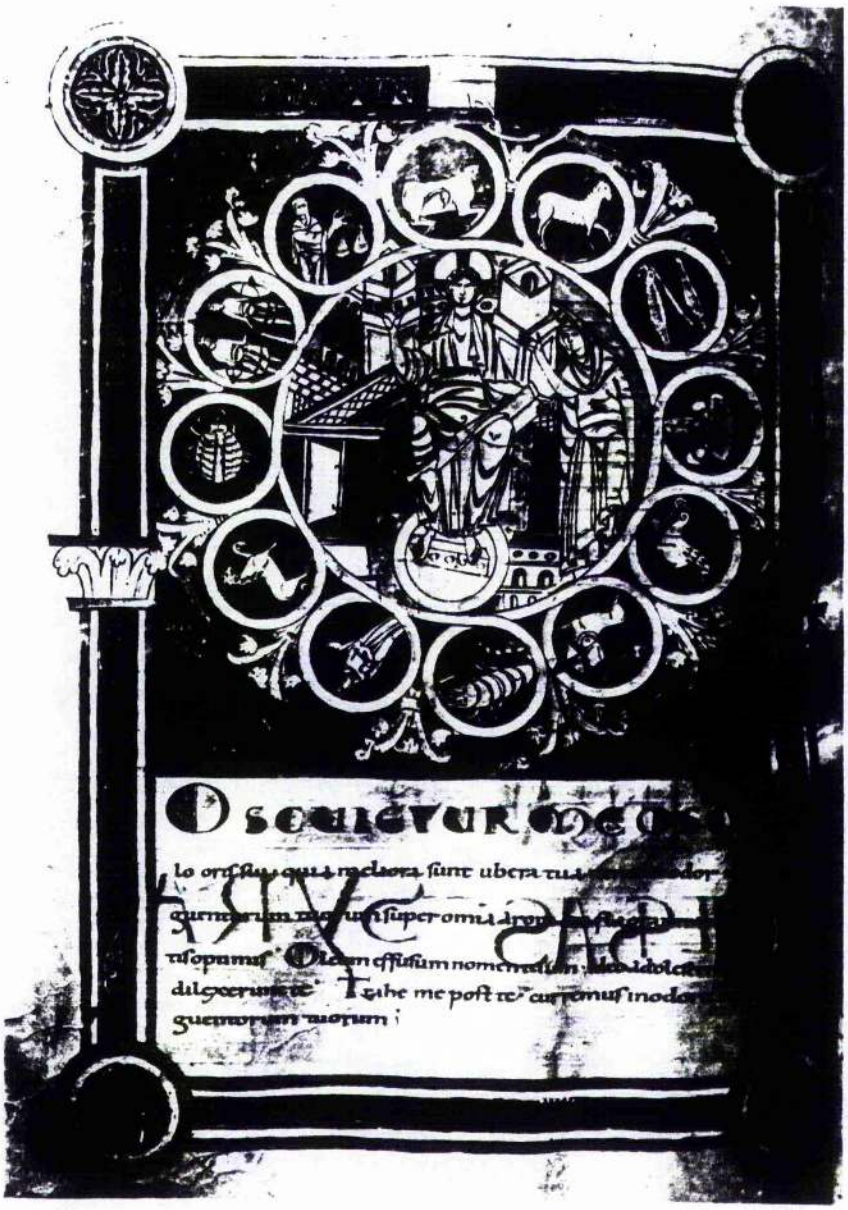

Plate. 31. *Song of Solomon*: Bible of Saint-Vaast, Arras, Bibl. Mun. Ms. 559, Vol. II, fol. 141v

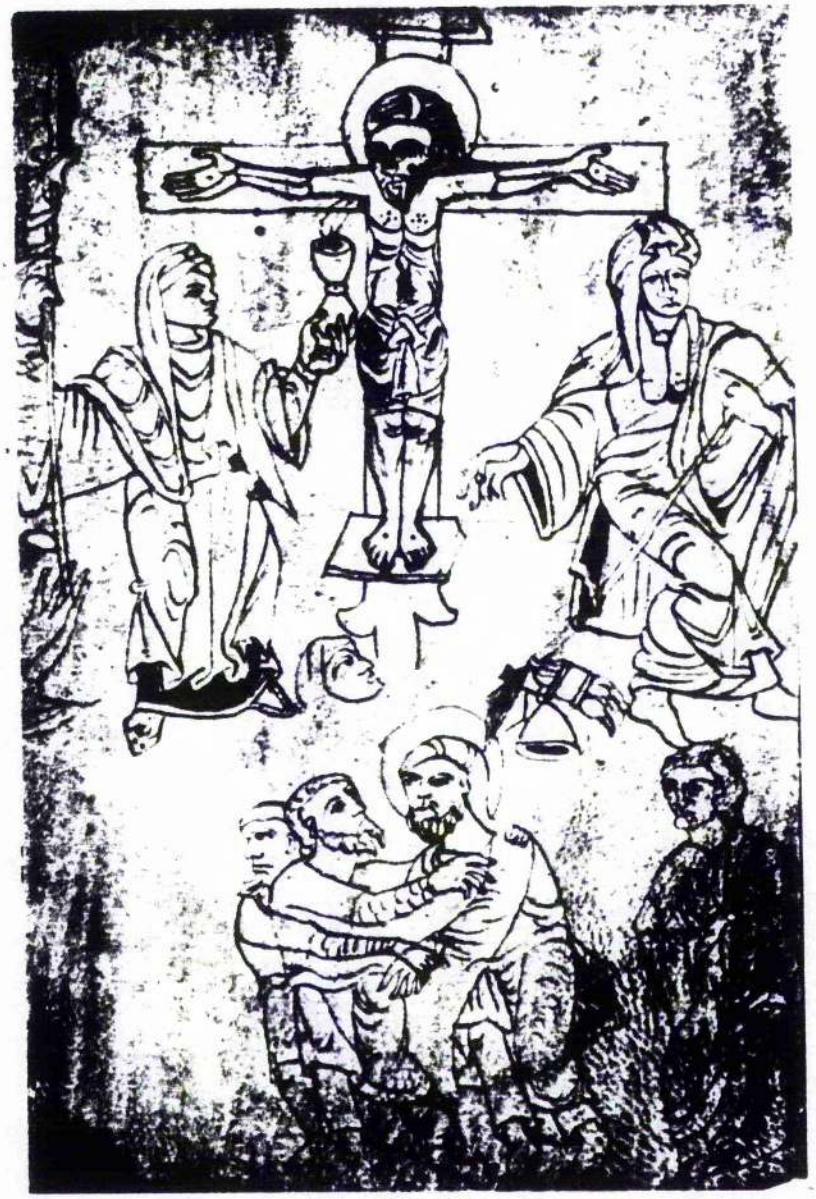

Plate 32. *The Ecclesia and Synagoga*: University Library. Leiden. Vos. Cod. Oct. 15, fol. 3v

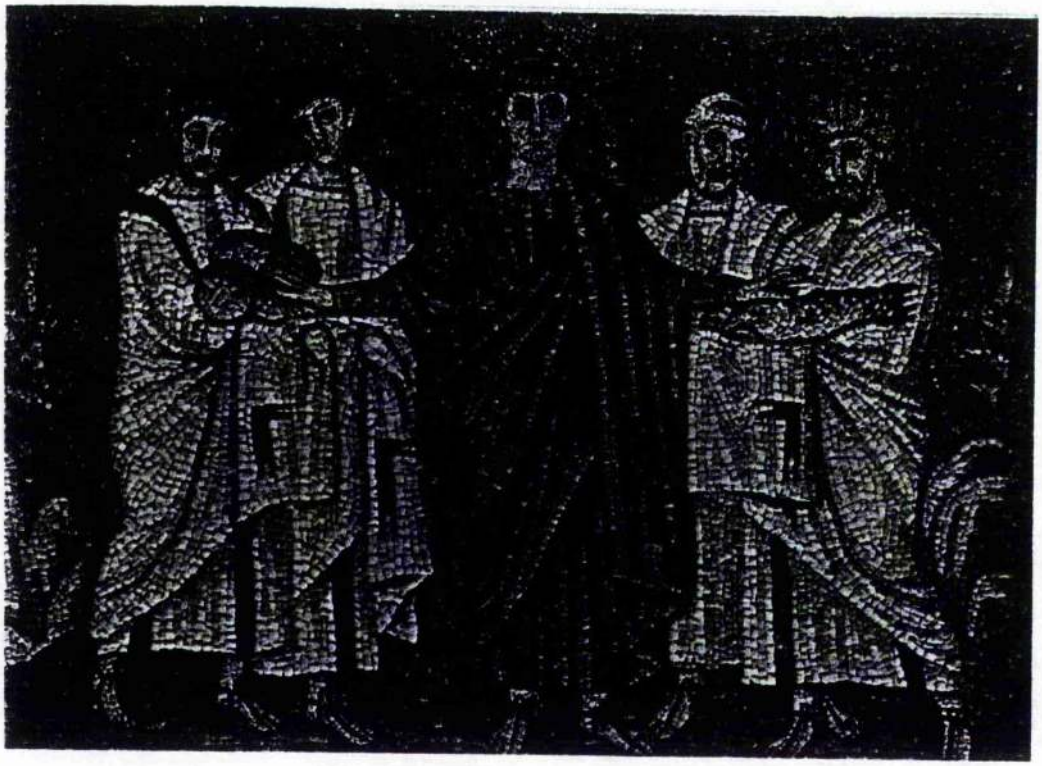

Plate 33. *Christ blesses the loaves and fishes*: Mosaic frieze, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

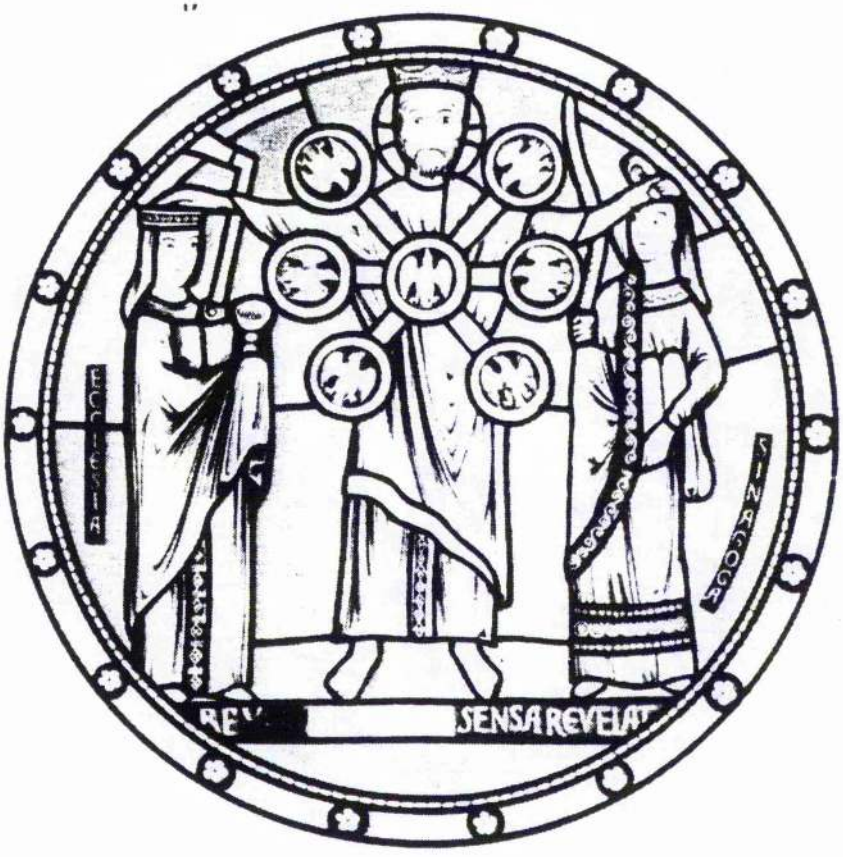

Plate 34. *The Coronation of the Church*; stained glass panel, chapel of St Peregrinus, anagogical window in southern bay, Saint-Denis.